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EDITORIAL

POWER COMES FROM VISION, AND IT IS GREAT IDEAS THAT MAKE GREAT MEN and movements. The great resources of power in the Anabaptist movement which enable it to set on fire the masses of Germanic Europe, particularly Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, and to wage a brilliant though unequal conflict with the persecuting powers of that age, can be explained only by its dedication to a great vision of truth. Recently the REVIEW carried two leading articles which attempted to set forth this vision. The one, "The Anabaptist Vision" by H. S. Bender, pointed out discipleship, brotherhood, and love as the heart of that vision; the other, "The Theological Triumph of the Early Anabaptist-Mennonites" by Don Smucker, systematized for the first time the whole of Anabaptist theology in a sweeping series of great basic concepts of Biblical theology in paradox.

In this issue the REVIEW presents a third attempt to lay hold upon the central ideas of Anabaptism in a penetrating discussion by Ethelbert Stauffer entitled "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom." Stauffer presents neither a comprehensive theological summary nor a distillation of Anabaptist thought, but rather a thorough analysis of one major concept which is in essence the Anabaptist philosophy, or rather theology, of history. He shows conclusively that the Anabaptist entered the sanguine battle for his faith with a keen understanding of the meaning of that conflict and its outcome, and with a most invigorating sense of fellowship with the great host of Christian (and pre-Christian) martyr-soldier-saints of whom Christ was the chief and the great captain. Here is disclosed a breathtaking depth of perspective and height of faith and intensity of dedication which humbles our light-weight Christianity of modern days. In the brilliant light of such a magnificent vision with its exceeding weight of glory how pale our contemporary program of faith and action must seem.

Professor Stauffer has sifted and mastered a great amount of source material in arriving at his conclusions, as even a cursory inspection of his citations will show. Menno Simons, Conrad Grebel, *The Martyrs' Mirror,* the *Ausbund,* the *Hutterian Chronicle,* and the *Hutterian Hymnal,* turn out to be the chief treasuries of Anabaptist martyr-theology. It is noteworthy that these sources represent all three branches of the Anabaptist-Mennonite family—Dutch, Swiss, and Austrian, and that all reflect the first half century of Anabaptist history. Hereby is manifested a deep central unity of faith and spirit in the original authentic Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage.

It is true that such a martyr-theology as Stauffer outlines is in a certain sense no theology at all. It presents the Christian knight valiantly steadfast in the thick of the fight, but does not tell us concretely what he is fighting for. True, he is on the Lord's side, in battle array against the adversary, looking to the author and finisher of his faith, and beholding the great cloud of witnesses. But we must look elsewhere for a statement of the positive content of the faith for which he bleeds and dies. This content is described in the Bender and Smucker presentations. Stauffer's contribution might be thought of as giving the background of the picture of Anabaptism, or the "Grundton" of the music, or the mood but not the theme of the symphony. This is not to depreciate its value, but rather to show its relation to the whole enterprize of recovering Anabaptist theology which is now going forward. This contribution is exceedingly helpful. Its great value warrants its publication in 1945 as in a sense a re-discovery of a study first made in 1933. We are indebted to Robert Friedmann for the translation of somewhat difficult material, and to Ethelbert Stauffer and his publishers for the privilege of reprinting. The author may be willing, when the restoration of war-broken postal connections permit sending him the reprint, to indulge the editor's freedom for the sake of a Tübingen student comradeship of twenty years ago.

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The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom

Ethelbert Stauffer*

The background and tradition of the "Theology of Martydom."

During the time of the heavy persecutions of the Jews under the Syrian rule (175-164 B.C.) they arrived at the conviction that in this aeon or world epoch the persecuted ones are the very saints of God. And they understood this as a historical fact in the sense that it has always been this way in the course of history. In the great religious literature after the conclusion of the Old Testament canon, in the apocryphical and pseudepigraphical books, we find shorter and longer "martyrs' summaries", enumerating name and fate of the witnesses of God from Abel on as far as to "the three men in the furnace", concluding that thus will also be the fate of those today who are loyal to God. They have to hide in deserts and bleak valleys and yet eventually will suffer martyrdom for the sake of the Law. The apocryphal books with the sagas of the martyrs of the time of the Maccabees, the folktales of old Eleasar or of the mother with the seven sons, are illustrations in case. And, so they continue, it will remain thus to the end of the present aeon; more, it must be thus. The apocalyptic literature from that time onward always recognized in historical facts historical necessities.

*Ethelbert Stauffer, son of a Palatinate Mennonite family, was a professor on the theological faculty of the University of Bonn, Germany in 1933 when this study was published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengescrichte,* Vol. LII (1933) pp. 545-598 under the title "Täufertum und Märtyrertheologie." The translation is by Robert Friedmann. The translator has not followed the original footnotes unchanged, but has made certain editorial changes and additions, and correspondingly modified the numerations. His contributions are indicated by the signature [R. F.].

The main topic of this popular writing was the old antagonism between the divine and the devilish order, reaching its final climax in the persecution of the children or the people of God. That is why those saints, martyred in arenas and public exhibitions, are the very fighters for God who, in the last analysis, Himself wrestles with Satan. Inasmuch, however, as this great battle is fought to the bloody end, death becomes victory, and the martyr who gives his innocent life becomes the expiating sacrifice for all the sins of his people, and the trail blazer of the new aeon. At the same time this death of the saints is the threatening testimony against the persecutors, pointing toward a reversal of the situation in a distant future. As soon as the last martyr will have died and the number of those who paid their testimony with their blood will be full the day of retaliation will dawn, a day of glory for the martrys and a day of horror for the persecutors. Then they will recognize whom they actually have tortured and will experience in their own bodies the supreme power of God. Martyrdom is in truth a reflex of the cosmic battle between God and Anti-God, and the victory of the martyr forecasts the final victory of the spiritual powers. Thus martyrdom is both a causal and a teleological necessity.[1]

In the New Testament this system of thought, here called "Theology of Martyrdom", found its very center in the Cross which gives meaning and order to all this suffering. Jesus himself recalls to his disciples this twofold meaning of suffering. The death of the Messiah is the climax of the persecution of all the saints; but at the same time this ultimate triumph of Evil means also its overthrow. In this sense Jesus explains his own death as the turning point of history toward the new era. "I must be baptized with a baptism. . ." (Mt. 20:22).

The fact of the Cross soon became the principle of the Cross which from now on determines the life and fate of the disciples. Also the existence of the disciples stands under the necessity of persecution; they too must accept that baptism of blood with which Christ himself was baptized; they too must drink the cup which the Master drank (Mt. 20:23); and they too shall, through suffering and death, reach the glory of the Heavens. Paul amplified these ideas; also for his system the Cross forms the center. The "imitation of Christ" is a leading concept of his moral teaching. And just as Jesus had called his dying a baptism, Paul called baptism a dying.

[1] The references to this introductory section will be found in Ethelbert Stauffer, *Gott, Welt, und Geschichte, eine theologiegeschichtliche Studie zur jüdischen Apokalyptik*, 1934.

The Gospel according to John presents the old truth of the teleological necessity of all martyrdom in a new formula: it speaks of the "seed" which must die that the wheat will grow. The Epistle to the Hebrews pictures the *via dolorosa* [path of suffering] of the true believers throughout history in the style of the apocryphical martyrs' summaries, and then describes the sufferings of Christ and his disciples by the old figure of the "agon", the ancient contest or race. The Book of Revelation finally places the fate of the martyrs of the early church into the great framework of cosmic happenings; the death of the Messiah means the first and decisive victory of the *Civitas Dei* [city of God] over the *Civitas Diaboli* [city of Satan]. In consequence of this, the old dragon which had fallen from Heaven rages with doubled ferocity, and the prayers of the martyred saints rise up to Heaven until the number of these martyrs shall be full.

The early church meditated upon these thoughts further. The first Clemens epistle contains a martyrs' summary in the style of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The *Shepherd of Hermas* looks at martyrdom as the most powerful testimony to the hostility between God and the "world", and for that reason it is the fulfillment of the Christian life. Next, the idea of the "imitation of Christ" [*Mimesis*] becomes dominant in the martyr book of Polycarp (d. 155): the passion of Christ becomes the prototype for the path of suffering of all loyal disciples, even to the smallest detail. And thus teach all those early books of the developing Christianity. The church of the first centuries interpreted the work of Christ by means of the concept of the "Theology of Martyrdom", and vice versa understood the fate of the martyrs through the fate of the Master. However, Christ himself is never presented as a martyr; rather, all the martyrs stand under the sign of the event on Calvary. Christ is not a model in a moral or symbolical sense but he is the archetype in a genuine sense of destiny.

In the main, two lines of thought come to the fore in the figurative speeches of the old martyr texts. The first is that of the fight through suffering, as it appears particularly prominent in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Christ is here the great *athletes* [participant in Greek contests or races], and accordingly those who continue his fight against Satan and who walk his path of passion, are the "agonists" crowned with the wreath of Eternity even as the runners of Greece were crowned with the wreath of laurels. Each victory of a martyr is a victory of the *Civitas Dei*

over the *Civitas Diaboli.* The second idea is that of the analogy between baptism and death as taught by Jesus and Paul. Baptism is a dying—because it is a descent into the waters of Hades.[2] And, since baptism with water already serves the expiation of sins, how much more will this be achieved through the "second baptism", the dying for the sake of Christ.[3] For instance, one book presents the martyrdom of the two women, Perpetua and Felicitas, as a straight "baptism with blood". Eventually both lines of ideas find their combined expression in the thought of Tertullian, the church father of the end of the second century. As long as the Christian church remained a church of martyrs, this "Theology of Martyrdom" remained alive. At the end of this great epoch of persecution (about 300 A.D.) this system of thought received its well balanced expression in the great *Church History* of Eusebius which not only collected facts and records about persecution but also tried to work out their meaning in the history of salvation.[4] Eusebius sees the visitation by God but he sees also the hatred of the Anti-Christ; he sees the selection of the chosen ones of God and their renewal; he sees the victory of the fighters of Christ and at the same time the miserable end of the persecutors and tyrants.[5] Thus for Eusebius the path of the church from Christ to Constantine, the emperor, is in a sense but one single path of suffering or passion. In other words, the Eusebian *Church History* is the history of the "church under the Cross".

The church of the Roman empire, as well as later on the church of the Papacy, were no longer churches of martyrs. After Constantine the great tradition of the true and, for that reason, persecuted church of Christ was adopted and handed down by new "heretical" bodies. It seems that in these circles all this thinking persisted underground up to the late Middle Ages. In the age of Reformation it revived in a new and mighty upsurge. It is the intention of the present study to follow up the hitherto little noticed signs of that upsurge, connected as they are by their inner meaning.

The early years of the Reformation seem loaded almost to the point of explosion with these ideas of the "Theology of Martyrdom." The arguments against persecutors, and the concept of the imitation of Christ, are revived. The apocalyptic vision of a

[2] The concept of the "stream of death" in Hades is the pre-christian, Greek-pagan concept which was the link in that comparison between baptism and dying.

[3] We omit here as elsewhere the numerous scholarly references to early Christian literary works. [R. F.]

[4] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiae,* V, 4. On baptism by fire, *ibid.,* VI, 4, 3.

[5] Eusebius, *op cit.* VII.

fight between God and Anti-Christ finds its reflection, for instance, in the painter Albrecht Dürer's *Diary* of 1521, where he sides with Luther in his extremity after being outlawed by the Diet of Worms. The path of martyrdom leads *per crucem ad lucem* [through the cross to the light], but the day of revenge is imminent. Luther himself is taken hold of by these ideas and moods in those first years of the struggle for his church reforms. In the summer of 1523, when he learned of the burning at the stake of two young Augustinian monks in Brussels, he exclaimed, "I thought I myself should be the very first one who should be martyred for the sake of the Holy Gospel; but apparently I was not worthy of that".[6] The loyalty of those young confessors meant to him a victory of God over Satan. Under the impact of that event he composed a martyr hymn, *Eyn hubsch Lyed von zweyen Marteren Christi zu Brussel von den Sophisten zu Loven verbrant* (1523).[7] At that time Luther does not yet think of the typological relationship between the fate of the martyrs and that of Christ himself. Later on, however, Luther carries out this comparison almost in the same style as it was done in the early Christian *Martyrium Polycarpi.* This Luther did primarily in the book on the history of *Bruder Henricus yn Diedmar verbrandt,* published in 1525.[8]

One can hardly grasp, renew, and evaluate more genuinely the ideas of the "Theology of Martyrdom" than Luther did in the beginning of the Reformation. In those early years Luther was truly the leader and speaker of a popular religious movement which had taken hold of the most different social groups and strata.[9] But, since 1525 things changed with Luther when he started establishing a state church which, as in the day of Constantine, ceased to be a martyrs' church.[10] To be sure, Luther still opposed the persecution of Anabaptists in Catholic countries,[11] but at the same time he passionately fought what he called "false" martyrdom

6 *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* VIII, 3; or Luther's works, *Weimarer Ausgabe* (abbr. *W. A.*), XII, 74.

7 Luther, *W. A.,* XXXV, 91, 411.

8 Luther, *W. A.,* XVIII, 215f.

9 What mattered at that time for Luther was God's mighty power and rule revealed also in the deeds of the martyrs. They die for the "truth," as long ago Eusebius had also claimed. And the polemic of the young Luther turns against the authorities, for the "poor miserable crowd, prodded against the martyrs, do not know what they were doing." *W. A.,* XVIII, 238, 18.

10 In 1527, when Leonhard Kaiser was burned at the stake, Luther's old sense for martyrdom flared up once again. At that time he wrote the pamphlet, *Von Herrn Leonhard Keiser in Baiern umb des Evangelii willen verbrent, W. A.* XXIII,443f. But later he stressed more the viewpoint that not everybody who ends at the stake must necessarily be a martyr. *Non poena sed causa facit martyrem. W. A.,* LI, 325f.

11 *Von der Wiedertauffe, an zwei Pfarrherrn.,* 1528. *W. A.* XXVI, 145f.

(in Protestant countries), speaking disparagingly of "falsche Merterer . . . Rottengeister, Widerteuffer, und dergleichen."[12]

Again, as in the time of the old church, the apocalyptic of martyrdom became the peculiar doctrine of the *Ketzer,* the heretical brotherhoods and communities. The old ideas of martyrdom found a new and genuine revival particularly among the Anabaptists where they remained alive as long as their brotherhoods remained martyr-minded, in general far into the seventeenth century, and, in certain places, even beyond that century.

The earliest principal statement of an Anabaptist leader on this subject seems to be a passage in the noted letter of Conrad Grebel to Thomas Müntzer, September 5, 1524. "True Christian believers are sheep among wolves . . . and must be baptized in anguish and affliction, tribulation, persecution, suffering and death".[13] Balthasar Hubmaier next coined the most concise formulation of the basic idea of the "Theology of Martyrdom" in his motto, *Die Wahrheit ist untödtlich* [Truth cannot be killed]—the very essence of his *Taufbüchlein* of 1525.[14] Again we meet it in the writings of Menno Simons. Considering the increasing number of martyrs in his brotherhood he saw the imminence of the day of vengeance and glorification. In this frame of mind he wrote his significant tract, *Van't cruys Christi* [*Of the Cross of Christ*].[15] By means of a great number of Bible quotations he first makes it clear that the recent persecutions were necessary, viewed both from their causes and from their final goal; then he has all the martyrs of Old and New Testament and of Eusebius' Church History pass by, each one with his particular story of suffering. Finally he concludes with a vision of the coming glory of the martyrs founded on the victorious sayings of the Book of Revelation.

Compared with these basic teachings of outstanding Anabaptist leaders the numerous hymns of Anabaptists of all shades reveal the great passion for martyrdom in a still stronger and richer form and with the fullness of a first-hand experience. In the main one can distinguish three great lines of tradition in this hymnody: the Dutch tradition, represented, at the earliest, in the second part

[12] *W. A.* LI, 401ff.

[13] Christian Neff in *Gedenkschrift zum 500 jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten* (Karlsruhe, 1925) 96; English translation of the letter by Rauschenbusch in *The American Journal of Theology,* IX, (1905) 95. [R. F.]

[14] Cf. C. Sachsse, *Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe, Berlin,* 1914, p. 24.

[15] *Complete Works of Menno Simons* (Elkhart, 1871) 179-212; *On the Cross, A Consoling Admonition Concerning the Sufferings, Oppressions, and Persecutions of the Saints for the Word of God and His Testimony,* abb. *The Cross.*

of *Het Offer des Heeren,*[16] the Swiss tradition, for which the *Ausbund* [1564] is the earliest collection,[17] and finally the Hutterite tradition. Their hymns were collected between 1600 and 1660, and published in print in 1914.[18] To be sure, not all these hymns are of authentic Anabaptist origin. For instance, the very first hymn in the *Ausbund* is by Sebastian Franck. Another goes back to the Waldensian tradition, while five hymns seem to originate with the Bohemian Brethren, thus proving the spiritual interrelationship of all these "heretical" groups. Some hymns even reveal Luther's influence, to be true that of his earliest time whereas the churchman of later times is violently opposed.[19] It is the common religious attitude, the mood of passion in the martyrs' church, which makes all these hymns one in style and spirit although coming from very different sections, countries, and times. The majority of all the hymns are martyr's hymns, that is they are either composed by the martyrs themselves shortly before their execution,[20] or they deal with the last hours of the martyrs or with the manifold persecutions of the church at large.[21] Also the great witnesses of faith of the past, above all of Jesus Christ himself, are the subject of many hymns.[22] By using these hymnals year for year, the church became strongly aware of being surrounded by a host of great martyrs and of living in an atmosphere of witnessing. *Ihr Ende schauet an und folget ihrem Glauben nach,* says the title page of the Hutterite hymnal.

Besides the doctrinal teachings and the hymns there is still a third source for the study of the Anabaptist mind and its "Theology of Martyrdom," namely, the chronicles. Of these only the two outstanding examples will here be used: the Hutterite *Geschicht Buch,* and the Dutch-Mennonite *Martyrs' Mirror.* Both reveal

16 Reprinted in *Bibl. Ref. Neerlandica,* II, pp. 499-614, (The Hague, 1904). Cf. also Rudolf Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* (Berlin, 1903) 59f. The hymns originate about 1562-3. [R. F.]

17 The last edition of the *Ausbund* was published by the Amish of Lancaster Co., Pa., in 1941. Regarding the earliest edition of 1564, see Harold S. Bender in *Menn. Quart. Review,* 1929, p. 147. All later editions have the same pagination. [R. F.]

18 *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, 1914).

19 *Ausbund,* 434. "Das 80. Lied, stanza 7": Ob sich die Welt Gleich grausam stellt, reminds one strongly of Luther's "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." See Wolkan, *op. cit.,* p. 145, where he calls the attention to this reminiscence. The "22. Lied" (p. 131) of the *Ausbund,* "Ein anderes Marterlied von Georg Ladenmacher und Wilhelm von Kepfel" is in many lines almost a complete copy of Luther's aforementioned hymn on the two Martyrs of Brussels, *W. A.* XXXV, 91, and 411. The same is also true of the hymns in *Ausbund* on p. 116 and 127; all three are of Dutch origin.

20 E. g., *Ausbund,* 235, the "42. Lied."

21 E. g., the "125. Lied" with 71 stanzas.

22 E. g., *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* p. 670 a.

their basic intention already on the title page. The title of the Hutterite Chronicle reads as follows:[23]

Geschicht Buch und kurtzer Durchgang von Anfang der Welt, wie Gott sein Werk in seinem Volk auf Erden angericht, gehandelt, und getrieben hat; demnach unser Gemein Geschicht Buch. Wie die Anfänger durch Gottes Gnade aus dem Irrtum herausgewachsen und Gott die Völker gewannet, die Spreu zerstreuet, den Weizen abgesündert in sein Scheuren, aus allen Völkern, Geschlechtern, und Zungen Deutschlands ein einzig Volk gesammelt. Auch wie Gott im selben sein Werk in dem letzten Alter dieser Welt wieder aufgericht, und angeordnet hat. Demnach, was schwere Verfolgungen, Kreuz und Trübsal die Gemein erlitten, Viel hingericht worden, und von Etichen sonderlich, wie sie mannlich gewesen, was mit ihnen gehandelt worden, und anderen Sachen mehr . . . aufs Kürzest . . . verzeichnet.

By way of introduction a brief history of the true church of God [*Gemein Gottes*] is presented from its earliest days to 1525, in which reference is made to Eusebius' scheme of the ten stages of persecution of the old church.[24] Most significant is further the double index of the Chronicle: the first one contains "allerlei Sachen und Händel, was ergangen ist", while the second one lists "the history of those who lay in prison und who testified as Christian heroes to their faith in the Divine truth with their blood in fire, water, and through the sword". Here lies the emphasis of the text, as the first chronicler, Kasper Braitmichel, most clearly points out in his foreword. The history of the Hutterite brotherhood is thus understood as the story of suffering of the people of God in the present aeon.

The same tendency is dominant in the Dutch martyrs' chronicle of Tieleman Jansz van Braght, *Het Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel der Doopsgezinde of Weerlose Christenen,* Amsterdam, 1660.[25] This title uses the old figure of speech of the early "Theology of Martyrdom" which compared the fight in the arena (or theater) with the fight of the martyrs against Satan. As Van Braght says in the preface, he plans to lead his readers to the bloody

[23] *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* herausgegeben von A. J. F. Zieglschmid (Philadelphia, 1944.) *Das Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. Rudolf Wolkan, Wien and Standoff Colony, 1923. We cite only the Zieglschmid edition, abb. *Chronik.* [R. F.]

[24] *Chronik,* p. 32-33. The author (Stauffer), however, does not mention that this introduction is almost a verbatim copy of a part of Sebastian Franck's *Chronica* of 1530, as already J. von Beck had pointed out in his edition of the *Geschichts Bücher* etc., 1883, p. 9, note. [R. F.]

[25] *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs' Mirror of the defenceless Christians who suffered and were put to death for the testimony of Jesus, the savior, from the time of Christ until the year A. D.* 1660. Last English edition, Scottdale, Pa., 1936. As a matter of fact the *Martyrs' Mirror* was by no means the first book of that type. For forerunners which served Van Braght as a model see *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* article "Märtyrer Bücher." [R. F.]

scene where the "true" Christians of all times, always "baptist-minded" and defenceless, have taken upon themselves torture and death for the sake of the testimony for Jesus, a spectacle for the whole world. For this purpose Van Braght composes first a history of martyrdom from Jesus Christ to the end of the Middle Ages, partly taken from Tertullian and Eusebius.[26] Then he presents the multifold fate of the Anabaptists from 1524 to 1660, using a great number of confessions, letters, hymns, and other records. The conclusion of the whole work is formed by the letter of intercession of the States General (Netherlands) on behalf of the Swiss Anabaptists of 1660. The times of persecutions, and with them the great time of the Anabaptist apocalypse of martyrdom, was declining toward its end;—the history of Anabaptism eventually merges into the general history of the world.[27]

Already this rapid survey of Anabaptist literature permits the recognition of the common historical background, the wide spread, the manifold interrelation, and finally the uniform development of the Anabaptist "Theology of Martyrdom" in the most different circles and times. For that reason one can readily study this theology as a more or less uniform historical phenomenon without violating facts. In this sense the following chapters will sketch the three great themes of this "Theology of Martyrdom" which again and again are discussed in the basic statements of the leaders of Anabaptism: (1) the path of martyrdom of the people of God through history; (2) the apocalyptic interpretation of the persecution of the Anabaptists; and (3) baptism, confession, and defencelessness within the framework of the "Theology of Martyrdom."

The Path of Martyrdom of The People of God Through History

The true church of God has been a suffering church [*Märtyrergemeinde*] at all times; this is the basic conception of the Anabaptist theology of history. The path of the people of God through history is a path of passion: that is proven by the Bible itself. "All of the Holy Scriptures seems to be nothing else but a book of martyrdom".[28] Eusebius and the entire history of the church are witnesses thereof.[29] At the present time, however, it

[26] In fact, Eusebius was very well known to a good many Anabaptist martyrs as we know from many trials recorded in both chronicles at discussion.

[27] Cf. on this change, R. Friedmann, "Anabaptism and Pietism," in *M. Q. R.*, XIV, 1940. [R. F.]

[28] *Martyrs' Mirror,* 11f.

[29] *Ausbund,* 9.

is the Anabaptists who suffer the truth of this statement in their own life. The Hutterite Chronicle reports for 1540 already more than fifteen hundred Anabaptist martyrs, and erects to them a modest monument in the form of the old martyrs' lists (therewith using as texts: Mt. 10:16; 24:9; John 16:2; Mt. 23:24; 23:37; Romans 8:36; Mt. 21:35; Rev. 17:6; Daniel 11:33).[30]

The Anabaptists felt themselves as heirs of a very old martyrs' tradition, and for that reason collected all available martyrs' stories of the past, using them for the purpose of uplift in days of affliction. In the main one can distinguish three groups of literary expressions of the aforementioned philosophy of history from the angle of a "Theology of Martyrdom": (1) the martyrs' lists, listing name and fate of the martyrs, the atrocities of the persecutions, the mighty deeds of God, and the deaths of the persecutors; (2) the rarer martyrs' stories, descriptions of individual sufferings (in the early period usually rhymed); and eventually (3) the martyrs' books of later periods, externally martyrs' lists of great size, but essentially collections of martyrs' stories.

Occasionally the influence of late Jewish models becomes very obvious; again and again we meet the motives for martyrdom of the *Vitae Prophetarum* (e.g. *Ausbund,* p. 10). The story of the three men in the furnace, the saving miracle in Alexandria, and the death of the mother with the seven sons, appear in the great Hutterite hymnal in rhymed form.[31] The *Martyrs' Mirror,* on the other hand, quotes with particular emphasis the *Brevis-Summary* of the book of Judith 8:20,[32] while the great martyrs' list of I Maccabees 2:49 ff. finds a poetical redaction in Kaspar Braitmichel's hymn, *Merkt auf, herzliebe Brüder mein,*[33] with the concluding formula lifted verbatim from the text (I Macc. 2:61, in stanza 10).

Mostly, however, the old lists are enlarged and the stories amplified, primarily by adding the fate of those "confessors" who had been loyal to their faith without giving the supreme sacrifice.[34] In

[30] *Chronik,* 232-235.

[31] *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* 365 (Dan. 3), 237 (II Macc. 6f), 286 (III Macc. 6).

[32] *Martyrs' Mirror,* 746.

[33] *Lieder der Hut. Brüd.* 98f.

[34] The *Martyrs' Mirror,* p. 12, distinguishes accordingly two groups of heroes of faith in the Old Testament. "Some of them suffered and fought much but not unto blood nor unto death, their victories are therefore not represented of the highest degree. Others, however, suffered and fought not only unto blood and death, for the Lord's name, but even to the greatest pain and most bitter death." The list of confessors runs from Abraham to Amos, the list of martyrs from Abel to the heroes of the times of the Maccabees. The end is the list of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 11:36-38: *Martyrs' Mirror,* 13b.

this manner the martyrs of the Old Testament from Abel to Zachariah are presented.[35] But the martyrs' history does not narrate only the fight and victory of the witnesses but tells also of the miraculous saving interference of God ever since the days of Joseph.[36] Other lists report of the great tyrants of history, of Pharaoh, Sennacherib, Antiochus Epiphanes, Holofernes, and the like; of the persecutions they brought upon those who were faithful to God; and of the terrible end they passed through.[37] These two lines of tradition: martyrdom and fate of persecutors, finally blend together to an antithetical picture or history as a whole, as for instance in Menno Simons' tract, *Of The Cross,* where Cain stands against Abel, Esau against Jacob, Saul against David, the godless kings against the prophets.[38] "The pious prophet and true servant of God must be regarded as their betrayer, a partizan and heretic."[39] In an analogous manner the saving miracle stands over against the punishing miracle.[40] The same antithetical summaries appear later also in Dutch martyrs' letters.[41] Van Braght finally brings this conception of antithesis in history into a basic formula which he follows through the centuries. "As there are two different peoples, two different congregations and churches, the one of God and from Heaven, the other of Satan and from the Earth, so there is also a different succession and progression belonging to each of them".[42] This is the essential dualism of the Anabaptist theology of history. History is the contest between the people of God and the powers of this world, a contest which presses to a final decision through the suffering of the martyrs.

It is the old antithesis between the *Civitas Dei* and the *Civitas Diaboli* which we meet here again, the antithetical philosophy of history of St. Augustine or of the Apostle John's Book of Revelation. But, in contrast to the latter, the Anabaptists included also the entire pre-Christian history [i.e. Israelite history] in this dualistic frame, and in contrast to St. Augustine they related the whole of world history to the one great fact of Christ.[43] The people of God,

[35] *Ausbund,* 10, 675, 728; *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 91f; 669f; Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 210; *Martyrs' Mirror,* 748.

[36] *Lieder der Hut. Br.,* 723f.

[37] *Ibid.,* 105, 552, also 644.

[38] Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 186.

[39] *Ibid.,* 188.

[40] *Ibid.,* 187-8.

[41] *Martyrs' Mirror,* 990.

[42] *Ibid.,* 21.

[43] *Ibid.,* 21. "After the fall, divine service had respect altogether to Christ. Truly, God promised His Son to men, represented Him by types, and finally gave

suffering ever since the first attack of the Serpent from the hatred of the "world", are in truth the people of Christ. Abel is the first advance in the direction of Christ, and all suffering of the martyrs since is in fact the "Cross of Christ" itself.

> Von Anfang sind die Heiligen all
> Umb Christi willen gestorben hie.[44]

Christ himself suffers in them, his members, or, as Menno Simons calls them in view of Hebrews 11, "the holy limbs of Christ", who by those wicked tools of Satan were ruthlessly "imprisoned, tortured, crucified, . . ." from the beginning of the world.[45] The Anabaptist theology of history is from the very outset centered on Christ; that is, the Son who in obedience to his Father takes the Cross upon himself, is the very hub of world and history.

> O Herre Gott, der Weg, den bistu gangen,
> Der ist so schmal und ligt so voller Schlangen.[46]

Therefore, the Cross is the measure and center of all Anabaptist "Theology of Martyrdom," and therefore, Christ is called captain of the hosts of the martyrs.[47] Menno Simons concludes his martyrs' chronicle with a meditation on the theme, "how not only the servants suffered but also how the Lord and Prince himself had to endure much, to again enter into his glory".[48] The *Ausbund* has a "Trostlied" about the suffering of the children of God from Abel to the present time in which the path of passion of Christ himself is the very center piece.[49] The first hymn in *Het Offer des Heeren* deals with the story of the Lord's passion. And so do the chronicles, which place Christ at the very inception,[50] "because he is the head of all the holy martyrs through whom they all must be saved."[51]

As leader and head the Son of God becomes archetype of all those who are persecuted for the sake of God, and his life is consciously pictured as a life of martyrdom. All his life "he was

Him to them. In the meantime, the fathers who were before the advent of Christ, hoped in Him, longed for His coming, and ordered and founded all their divine services, whatever these, according to the time, and the command of God, might be, on His only and eternal reconcilation." *Martyrs' Mirror,* 21b.

44 *Lieder der Hut. Br.,* 670; *Ausbund,* 11, 26ff.

45 Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 194.

46 *Ausbund,* 663.

47 *Lieder der Hut. Br.,* 106, 12; *Martyrs' Mirror,* 990 and *passim.*

48 Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* p. 192.

49 *Ausbund,* 731, stanza 14-16 of the "124. Lied."

50 *Chronik,* LIII and 28.

51 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 67.

considered a fanatic and a vagrant,"[52] and his end was the death meted out to all heretics.[53] The Cross, finally, is not only the last act in the life of Jesus but also the concluding manifestation of the law by which he had started his life. "He was born under the cross, brought up under the cross, walked under the cross, and eventually died on the cross."[54] In this manner the *Martyrs' Mirror* characterizes the life of Jesus. And Menno Simons concludes with the antithetical phrases taken from Paul, "Thus he, who was eternally rich, for our sakes became poor (2 Cor. 3; Phil. 2); the eternal Glory was dishonored, eternal Righteousness was persecuted, eternal Truth blasphemed, . . . eternal Life was made to suffer a shameful death (Gal. 3)".[55]

Why did things come to pass in this way? Because, wherever God wants to build his work, the Anti-Christ concentrates his destructive power, and wherever the light presses forward to victory, darkness once again gathers all its demonic potency. In this sense the hatred which raged against the head of all martyrs is not only the hatred of the children of this world against the people of God but the very hatred of Darkness against the Light. It is the old causal answer of the "Theology of Martyrdom" which we meet here again. Yet, in Anabaptist tradition it crystallized solidly around the concept of the "Truth" in contrast to the Lutheran concept of the "Word" as the challenge to the world and its final conquest. To be sure, also Anabaptists speak occasionally of the Word, thinking of the Johannine prologue, yet in the decisive moment when they visualize the dualistic background of the martyr's fate, then they use only the concept of "Truth."

> Dieweil das Wort die Wahrheit war,
> So mochts die Welt nit leiden.[56]

The hidden and yet deep difference between Paul and John is once again revived in the relation between Luther and the Anabaptists.

However, the question as to the causes [the "why"] of suffering is only a preliminary issue. The final emphasis also with Anabaptists rests with the teleological question as to the "what for?" of Jesus' death. First, all that agony of death is for Christ

[52] *Ibid.*, 68.
[53] *Lieder d. Hut. Br.*, 275ff, has a rhymed story of Jesus' death.
[54] *Martyrs' Mirror*, 67-68.
[55] Menno Simons, *The Cross*, 194.
[56] *Lieder d. Hut. Br.*, 214; see also p. 437, and the above quotation from Menno Simons.

himself only a passing stage to a new and higher form of life.[57] The triumph of evil prepares the path for an overwhelming victory of God according to the paradox law of all dialectic. And that is true also for the divine work of Christ. The martyrdom of the Son of God is the victory of God in weakness and the indictment of the persecutors who perish in their last manifestation of power. Thus God's work becomes through this catastrophe a power by which the originators of this very catastrophe break down. The hymns of the Hutterites in particular develop this paradox logic.[58] Where the power of death has come to a self-annihilation there the force of life breaks through for the salvation of the world.[59] Christ's work of salvation always has a twofold meaning: the end of Satan's rule, and the beginning of a new era of grace. Christ, therefore, means the decisive turning point of the ages. In one of the Hutterite "Hymns of joy", Christ is called the sun which rose over the creation and its needs.[60] The Anabaptists understood Christ's fate in the light of the fate of the martyrs. But— and this must be emphasized—in spite of this they never forgot the uniqueness of Christ and his life, thus evading a dangerous snare.

The fact of Christ, his life, his death, means to the Anabaptist the turning point of the ages which, however, by no means implies that all suffering has now come to an end. Rather, the extremity of God's children will become more acute in taking on new forms. The new aeon which started with Christ stands altogether under the sign of the Cross because the old enemy who once had brought Christ into disgrace and anguish now directs all his wrath upon the confessors of Christ.[61] And the hostility of the world, far from lessening under the impact of the Christian teaching, becomes only "the longer the worse".[62] But the martyr's death of Stephen, which for the first time revealed this situation and thus became paradigmatical, not only shows that the confessor has to accept suffering and death according to the archetypal passion of Christ but shows also how he is supposed to carry this out. "Stephen kneeled down and cried . . . after the example of his master on the cross, 'Lord, lay not their sin to their charge for they know not what they do' (Acts 7)".[63] This is the new

[57] *Ibid.*, 215a.
[58] *Ibid.*, 214-5 and 321a.
[59] *Ibid.*, 279a; *Ausbund*, 287.
[60] *Ibid.*, 870f, this hymn begins like a folk song but then develops toward these ideas.
[61] *Ausbund*, 225, also 12 and 24.
[62] *Lieder d. Hut. Br.*, 820a, *Ausbund*, 116, 225.
[63] Menno Simons, *On the Cross*, 190.

attitude by which the saved ones conquer their own fate and, at the same time, conquer their opponents.

However, even the intercession of the martyrs cannot stop the advancing crisis of the world. The struggles of the two realms take ever bloodier forms. Here the martyrs die in the name of Christ, there the persecutors fall, stricken by God's vengeance.[64] Also the peace under the Christian emperors after Constantine was illusory. The old antithesis between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world, formerly revealed in the persecutions of the Christians, comes now to the fore in the struggle between the secularized state church and the people of God viewed as 'heretics'. In each century the good rises against the evil in new variations only to become exterminated and delivered up to the curse.[65] As a matter of fact, the popes with their use of force are but the trustees of the devil, and the Roman Church is understood as "die grosse Babylon, eine Mutter aller Gräuel auf Erden, trunken vom Blut der Heiligen und der Zeugen Jesu."[66] The tradition of the true, that is the defenceless and "baptist-minded" Christians,[67] is pursued by the Hutterite Chronicle[68] from Donatus to Adelbert, Clemens (the opponent of S. Boniface), John Scotus, Abelard, the Waldensians, Wycliff and Hus, up to the two martyrs of Brussels and Henry of Zutphen.[69] "Weil aber Gott ein einiges Volk, abgesündert von allen Völkern, haben wollt, hat er den wahren, rechten Morgenstern, das Licht seiner Wahrheit, in völligem Schein wieder herfür wöllen bringen im letzten Alter dieser Welt, besonders in deutscher Nation und Landen."[70] With these words the Hutterite chronicle begins its narration of the origin of the Zurich brotherhood[71] [Anabaptists]. The real church of God, established through separation from the Lutheran and Zwinglian churches, continued to be purified and revived by the way of strict selection. This is the way the Hutterites looked at

64 Josephus Flavius already spoke in this way of the death of John the Baptist, and his view is quoted in the *Martyrs' Mirror,* 70. See also *Ausbund,* 11. *Chronik,* 30. Eusebius is quoted in *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 673f, stanzas 34 and 44; the "9, Lied" of the *Ausbund* is a rhymed history after S. Ambrose.

65 *Chronik,* 38; see the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus, 33:15f.

66 *Chronik,* 41.

67 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 16.

68 Taken from Sebastian Franck's *Chronik* of 1530, see n. 24. [R. F.]

69 *Chronik,* 35-44, and *Martyrs' Mirror,* 219-338.

70 *Chronik,* 45.

71 This idea of a "Holy Rest" comes also most clearly to the fore on the first page of Balthasar Hubmaier's *Tauffbüchlein* of 1525, "Denn ich gewisslich weiss, dass Gott ihn noch wohl siebentausend Männer vorbehalten, die ihre Knie gegen den Kindertauff nit gebogen noch ihn für recht erkannt haben." Cf. *Ausbund,* 238, stanza 9 and 10 of the "42. Lied."

their own history. All those crises, secessions, excommunications, of which the Chronicle relates abundantly, are but stages of this principle of selection.[72] The strict church discipline belongs to the same principle of selection. The brethren were exclusive, and an ecumenical ideal was a rather remote thought to them. The strength of the true church of God lies alone in purity and concentration.

On the other hand the Hutterites emphasized particularly tradition and succession. They had their own bishop list, sung in the renowned Väterlied,[73] whose first forty stanzas tell of the ways of the children of God from the times of the old Israelites up to the days of the Reformation, while in the remaining eighty-five stanzas they list the heads of the brotherhood chronologically with brief characteristics in each case, beginning with Jacob Hutter.

Die Gemein, die christliche Mutter,
Hat viele Söhn verloren
Bis auf den Jacob Hutter, . . .

But, "lang tät nit aussen bleiben der Trübsal." The "world", which was so radically rejected by the brethren, promptly responded, and the "baptist-minded" and defenceless people of God had soon to prove themselves by martyrdom as the genuine heirs of the old martyr tradition. A great array of reports, histories, summaries, and other records, tells us of the martyr's death of the leaders,[74] of the persecutions under which the church had to suffer through centuries, of curses, plundering, and exiles. *"Here is the patience and the faith of the Saints* (Rev. 13:10)", this phrase is used again and again by hymnwriters and chroniclers to describe the very foundation of this way.[75]

The Anabaptists took this fate upon themselves in the absolute certainty that theirs is the historical task to go the path of martyrdom as it was the path of God's people from the beginning, and to go it to its very end. For that reason most of the martyrs' lists conclude with at least a glimpse of the bloody persecutions of the present times.[76] Many present the story of persecution of

[72] *Chronik,* 885.

[73] *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 770ff, with 105 stanzas, goes as far as 1662. A later postscript, *ibid.,* 877ff has 19 more stanzas and goes as far as 1734.

[74] See also the end of the "Fifth Article" of the *Schleitheim Confession* of 1527, "But should it happen that through the cross the pastor should be banished or led to the Lord [through martyrdom] another shall be ordained in his place in the same hour so that God's little flock and people may not be destroyed." A full translation of these articles will appear in the *M. Q. R.* for October, 1945.

[75] *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 19f.

[76] *Ausbund,* 49, 675.

God's people up to 1525 only as an introduction to the enumeration of the martyrdom of the Anabaptist brethren. A new "cloud of witnesses (Heb. 12:1)"[77] surrounds the saints today not less than in the times of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In this sense Anneken of Rotterdam, a Dutch woman martyr, says to her judges:

Ich gehe auf der Propheten Weg,
Der Mertrer und Apostel Steg.[78]

In this sense the martyrs of the Anabaptist brotherhood renew the polemic of old about persecutors: Cain is again the prototype,[79] the city of Vienna, which saw burnings at the stake, becomes the new Sodom,[80] the Catholic emperor Ferdinand is the new Pharaoh,[81] Philipp II of Spain is the new Antiochus.[82] But just as the tyrants of the past could not escape God's vengeance, in the same way the judgment upon the new persecutors will not tarry. In fact, it is already working.[83] The *Martyrs' Mirror* reports altogether in the style of the Second Book of the Maccabees the terrible end of the tyrants and their accomplices in the Netherlands.[84]

Yet, the Anabaptists never forgot in all this vision Christ and his members: it is always the sign of the Cross under which they understand their fate. The idea of discipleship [*Nachfolge*] becomes paramount for the appreciation of their own lot. A fine example in this line is the outstanding hymn of Hans Büchel in the *Ausbund,* "Das 45. Lied. *Ein neu geistlich Lied, darin sich ein Nachfolger Christi klagt, so ihn die Trübsal um des Wortes willen troffen hat; der Herr antwortet ihm sanftmütig, mit Erzählung, wie es ihm in dieser Welt auch ergangen sei.*"[85] This hymn (which should be examined in its entirety) offers as few others an excellent insight into the endless tribulations which Anabaptist brethren had to go through long before they could conclude their life in martyrdom, tribulations particularly hard to people who shunned all public show and all irregular life. This also gives at the same time an insight into how they read their Bible in such

77 Quoted in *Chronik,* 236, and *Ausbund,* 181.

78 *Ausbund,* 110f, taken from *Het Offer des Heeren.* The full text of the Testament of Anneken Jans used for this hymn is found in *Martyrs' Mirror,* 453.

79 *Ausbund,* 663, 383.

80 *Chronik,* 160.

81 *Ausbund,* 236f, 380; *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 69.

82 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 1095; *Chronik,* 236.

83 *Chronik,* 239.

84 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 1095ff.

85 The "45. Lied," *Ausbund,* 247f. Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* (Berlin, 1903) 142. Büchel was one of the leaders of the Swiss Brethren delegation to the "Franckenthaler Gespräch," 1570. The hymn has 32 stanzas. [R. F.]

situations and how they arrived at the doctrine of the Christ who always lived under the Cross before he died on the Cross. This picture could be further amplified by features taken from many other texts and hymns.

Gar viele in Unschuld starben,
Wie Christus auch getan.[86]

Again and again they compare their fate with that of their master.

Wie er denn selbst gelitten hat, als er am Kreuz gehangen
Also es jetzt den Frommen gaht, sie leiden grosse Zwangen.[87]

And the preface of the *Ausbund* concludes with the memorable words: *Dass man in allen solchen Sachen kein fleischlich, noch irdisch Lob, sondern vielmehr mit Christo eine Dornenkron̄ denket davon zu bringen.*[88] What truly matters is to conform oneself to the Lord's passion [*dem Herrn im Leiden gleichförmig werden*]: these words of Paul and the early "Theology of Martyrdom" are used more often than any other ones as the core of all their doing and suffering. The *Nachfolge Christi* becomes the "imitation" of Christ in the genuine sense of the old "Theology of Martyrdom".[89] And in the same way as Christ himself had prophesied a catastrophe to the city of Jerusalem, and the writers of the apocalypses prophesied the same to the city of Rome, Wilhelm von Keppel sings of the new centers of Satan:

O Cöllen, Cöllen, an dem Rhein[90]

In general, the texts restrict themselves to a demonstration of the external conformity between the passion of Christ and the suffering of his disciples, both having the same causal background.

Wenn Christus selbst gleich noch einmal
Zu uns auf Erden kommen soll. . .
So gingt ihr ärger mit ihm um
Als die Pfaffen im Judentum.[91]

[86] *Ausbund,* 382.

[87] Jörg Blaurock, [one of the very first Anabaptists in Switzerland and later in Tyrol,] in his hymn, *Ausbund,* 39. Likewise Jacob Hutter in his famous letter to the governor of Moravia, 1535, *Chronik,* 149f.

[88] The earliest (1622) copy of the complete *Ausbund* in the Goshen College Library has this preface, probably already present in the first complete edition of 1583. The 1564 edition has another preface. [R. F.]

[89] *Ausbund,* 731, 130, 150f, 289, 383; *Lieder der Hut. Br.,* 64, 69, 119, 439, 818f. And so on in all the texts. "Nachfolge Christi" could also be translated by "following Christ." [R. F.]

[90] *Ausbund,* 138.

[91] *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 818a.

The bold idea of Paul, that the suffering for the sake of Christ is at the same time a necessary contribution to the work of Christ, is very little considered in our texts. The "works"-character of martyrdom is but slightly touched.[92] More emphasis is put on the consequences of martyrdom for the eternal fate of the martyr. He is not only the disciple[*Nachfolger*] on the way to the cross, but through death also on the way to glory.

Die Braut muss wie der Bräutigam
Durch Leiden in die Freud eingahn.[93]

The Anabaptists understood the Cross in a twofold way: (1) as the event which centers all history, and (2) as the principle that guides the way of God's people through history. The Cross is always both, the sign of victory established by God once for ever, and the law which comes true in the lives of the faithful to God, over and over again; it is the deed by which God made a new start, and the form by which he will consummate his work. This twofold understanding of the Cross was conclusively formulated by Balthasar Hubmaier in his great motto which implies the entire cross-centered theology of history of the Anabaptists: *Die göttliche Wahrheit ist untödtlich, und wie wohl sy sich etwan lang fahen lässet, geyseln, kronen, kreutzigen, und in das Grab legen, werdet sy doch am dritten Tag wiederumb sygreich ufferstan und in Ewigkeit regieren und triumphieren.*[94]

The Apocalyptic Interpretation of the Persecution of the Anabaptists

Through all Anabaptist texts on martyrdom one perceives the one note: the present extremity is not just one stage on the path of martyrdom through history but it is its very last stage, it is the last act in the apocalyptic drama between God and Satan.[95] God assembles his people now for the decisive attack, but Satan, too, arms with all his forces for the great counter attack.[96] All the forces of the *Civitas Diaboli* are let loose now upon the *Civitas Dei:* the old dragon and the great beast, the Anti-Christ, and the false prophets.[97] These anti-forces have come to historic significance in

92 *Ausbund,* 286, 686, 691.

93 *Ausbund,* 128, 263, 731.

94 Johann Loserth, *Balthasar Hubmaier* (1893), 196.

95 *Ausbund,* 116, 125, 148f, 254, 285, 382, 554, 562; *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 178, 842; *Chronik,* 227; K. Vos, *Menno Simons* (Leiden, 1914), 271.

96 *Ausbund,* 38, 225, 262, 117f.

97 *Ausbund,* 132, 166, 364; *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 19 (Behemoth).

all those powers which have united against the little flock of brethren.[98] Once the pope is looked upon as Anti-Christ,[99] once the emperor,[100] sometimes also the monk whose tonsure fits so well to the bald head of the old picture of Anti-Christ.[101] The Hutterites fight Luther as the "false prophet",[102] yet reject with the same fervor also the Münster experiment as devil's work.[103]

To be sure, the people of God do not stand alone in their extremity. The tribulation of the saints in these ages is but the most intense form of the world extremity at large. The Anabaptist writers on the "Theology of Martyrdom" have in a peculiar way renewed the Pauline appreciation of the suffering of all creation. This becomes obvious, for instance, in the renowned hymn of the martyr George Grünwald, *Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn.*[104] Stanza 5 reads as follows:

> Alle Creatur bezeugen das
> Was lebt in Wasser, Luft und Gras,
> Durch Leiden muss es enden.

The suffering character of creation is a destiny; the issue, however, for a Christian is the end to which all this suffering leads.

> Wer dann in Gottes Nam nit will,
> Der muss zuletzt in Teufels Ziel
> Mit schwer'm Gewissen enden.

Seldom was so much said with so few words about the extremity of creation and men's predicament.

The martyr knows about this plight and he experiences it in his own body. But at the same time he overcomes this state, for his suffering is a martyrdom for the sake of God and not because of personal guilt. It is the suffering of the innocent for the sin of the world and its hostility against God.[105]

> Der Christ hat keinen Platz auf Erden,
> Er muss verfolgt und ausgestossen werden.[106]

The Anabaptists are fully conscious of standing at a critical point both of history and of creation. That is their peculiar apoca-

98 *Ausbund,* 338, 636; *Chronik,* 156; Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 184, 186.
99 *Ausbund,* 57; *Chronik,* 159.
100 *Chronik,* 113, 459.
101 *Ausbund,* 543-4.
102 *Chronik,* 43.
103 *Chronik,* 144.
104 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 47; see Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* 17.
105 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 1128, "innocence before men." See also *Ausbund,* 244.
106 *Ausbund,* 25.

lyptic position. Thus the martyr understands his suffering as the sign of divine election.[107] It has always been so, that God elected his saints in martyrdom and tested them like gold in the fire.[108] The martyr knows that the hairs of his head are numbered and he is assured that the most spiteful plots of the enemy eventually must serve his best welfare.

> Ob sich die Welt gleich grausam stellt,
> Und will uns gar verschlingen,
> Seind doch all unser Haar gezählt,
> Es soll ihn doch mislingen.[109]

For this reason one must be steadfast when the trial is on [*wenn wir in die Prob kommen*[110]], and loyal unto death in an age of sifting and great apostasy.[111] Love, says Solomon (Song of Songs 8:6), is strong as death. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can floods drown it.[112] It is the love of those who have sealed their faith with water and with fire.

The martyr offers his life as a sacrifice before God[113] for love's sake. The stake is "the altar of burnt-offering", *wie Moses tut beschreiben.*[114] God will lend his succour that the sacrifice be a pure one.

> Dass uns, Herr, mög gelingen,
> Dir ein rein Opfer darzubringen.[115]

It is but a sacrifice of glorification, excluding any other possible interpretation. The martyr sheds his blood as a seed which will bring forth fruit in its time,[116] to wit not only at the end of all times but in history proper. Out of the innocently shed blood of Christians grew up fellow-believers in many places here and there. *Ohne Frucht gings nit ab,* says the Hutterite chronicle.[117] The truth which they tried to kill becomes through this very act invincible, and

107 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 5; Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 206b.

108 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 10, 282; Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 250b. (The meaning of Cross is detachment from the world.)

109 *Ausbund,* 434. This entire "80. Lied" is remarkable and should be consulted in the present context. Wolkan, *op. cit.,* 145 ascribes it to Christoph Baumann, one of the great hymn writers of Anabaptism. The same idea also in Menno Simons, *The Cross,,* 185; and *Chronik,* 504.

110 *Ausbund,* 109; *Chronik,* 156.

111 *Ausbund,* 59, 398, 701; *Chronik,* 82, 104, 783; Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* 185.

112 Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* 209.

113 *Ausbund,* 133.

114 *Ausbund,* 175.

115 *Ausbund,* 235.

116 *Ausbund,* 130f.

117 *Chronik,* 238.

the persecutors come into despair on account of this uncanny law. "What shall I do?" asked the Burggraf of Altzey in the Palatinate (1529). "The more I sentence and have executed, the more numerous they become."[118]

But the teleological meaning of martyrdom goes even further. If the death of the witness in relation to the Lord has as its meaning: sealing off, sacrifice, seed, then it means in relation to Satan: resistance unto blood, and victory over the victor. The martyr is the "true soldier of God" fighting against the power of darkness.[119] No other concept found such a ready and general echo among the Anabaptists as this one of overcoming Satan by the extreme sacrifice.

The people of German countries have always had a liking for the armed horseman of Revelation 19:11 ff, and Albrecht Dürer in a famous etching gave the form in which his time understood him. In those early years of the Reformation the knight became so to say the heraldic figure of all champions of the Truth.[120] This explains why the old ideas of the "Theology of Martydom" about the battle with Satan were revived in those days with but slight alterations. In place of the "athlete" in the Greek and Roman "agon" comes now the knight on his charger, and in place of the arena the tournament or the battlefield. In this sense the Anabaptists speak of "life on earth as an incessant warfare,"[121] a warfare of the Cross, as Menno Simon calls it, which must be carried out to its very end. Martyrdom is, of course, never an affair of weakness but rather of strength. Only a hero is able to walk the path of martyrdom.[122] It comes like a battle cry from the lips of the saints who ready themselves for the chamber of torture:

> Her, her, ihr lieben Brüder,
> Und greifets tapfer an.[123]

And then, when everything is over, the others testify to his courage in this last battle: "he fought like a knight."[124]

Very often this fight of the martyr is understood with Hebrew 12:1 as a race.[125] Or they speak of knightly warfare, leaning on

118 *Chronik,* 81.

119 See Robert Friedmann, "Concerning the true soldier of God, A hitherto unknown Anabaptist tract," *Menn. Quart. Rev.* V (1931), 87-99. [R. F.]

120 This is true both for the Lutherans, e.g. in Ulrich Hutten's famous *Reiterlied* [E. Stauffer] and for Anabaptists, as the tract mentioned in note 119 proves. [R. F.]

121 Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 211.

122 *Ausbund,* 66.

123 *Ausbund,* 236.

124 *Chronik,* 48, "er hat sich ritterlich geschlagen."

125 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 282.

2. Tim. 2:5,[126] and compare martyrdom with a spectacle for the world [127] to which crowds of people throng.[128] And they speak also of the trophy promised to the conqueror, namely the heavenly crown of honor.[129] Mostly, however, the Anabaptists compare their struggle with a real battle in the field, and here they are rather lively in the amplification of the figure. The *Martyrs' Mirror* extolls the Cross as an "ensign of those who serve and follow Jesus, the captain of the faith", and calls the martyrs "the soldiers under the bloody banner of Christ."[130] The hymns of the *Ausbund* live, so to say, in this figurative world. The life of those faithful to God is a permanent warfare,[131] for the field, although conquered, has to be held in unceasing alertness and readiness for fight and sacrifice.[132]

The opponent with whom the knight has to fight or to wrestle, appears in many figures. Sometimes he is called merely "the enemy and adversary,"[133] sometimes it is "the world," sometimes it is the tyrants and "Papists"; but in the last analysis it is always Satan who rages in his members and who tries to crush down the squad of Christ.[134] But all these similes are not mere idle figures of speech with poetical or at best educational significance; they rather signify a definite position in the theological interpretation of history. The seriousness of the present situation is to be clarified in its uniqueness, its decisive character, its range. The martyr stands right in the center of a battle of two aeons or worlds.[135]

This apocalyptic position is at the same time the all important starting point for answering the question of a theodicy [i.e., the vindication of God's justice in view of the existing evil], the last great problem of an apocalyptic interpretation of the contemporary world situation.[136] Injustice and madness, force and hatred of God, are still to rage on earth since the number of the saints and also

126 Menno Simons, *op. cit.*, 208. Menno Simons says, "fight like a knight," while the Bible text has, "fight lawfully." [R. F.]

127 *Ausbund,* 415, following I Cor. 4:9 and Hebr. 10:33. Here fits also the figure of the "bloedig tooneel," i.e. "bloody theater," in the title of the *Martyrs' Mirror.*

128 *Ausbund,* 153, Cf. IV Maccabees 17:14.

129 *Ausbund,* 128, 236; *Chronik,* 703.

130 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 357.

131 *Ausbund,* 334.

132 *Ausbund,* 216, by Hans Langenmantel. "Hilf uns das Feld erhalten."

133 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 209b.

134 *Ausbund,* 392.

135 *Ausbund,* 425, the "78. Lied."

136 Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 208b, a most important section of the book which should be consulted in its entirety. [R. F.] See also *Ausbund,* 111, 673, 681.

the measure of sin of the enemy of God is not yet full.[137] Not until the last of the saints will have fallen by the hands of the persecutors will God reveal his justice. Until then men cannot solve such queries; until then, history can be understood only as an advancing process of selection, or a separation of the minds, which prepares the final separation of destinies, or more correctly, which is deciding already now this separation. In this sense every murder of a saint means crisis and the separation of two paths.[138]

The path of death through martyrdom is the surest way to life; tribulation will be turned into joy, and joy cannot be gained otherwise but through tribulation.[139] All the faithful have to tread in one way or another this path "per crucem ad lucem"; they all are witnesses for the law

> Dass wer zu Gott will kommen,
> Durch Trübsal muss eingahn.[140]

To be sure, with death the last gate has not yet been passed, and the martyr cannot enter the last glory at once. But this is certain in any case: he is in peace and assured of the future.[141] On the other hand those who so cruelly oppressed the saints will have a horrible end. "In a moment they go down to Hell", writes Menno Simons quoting Job 21:13.[142] And this end is but an indication of the perennial fate which awaits them. For God has promised

> Wenn er (auch) nachliess alle Sünd
> So wollt er ihnen das nit schenken;
> Mit Feuer und Schwefel tränken
> Das mörderisch gottlos Gesind.[143]

In their polemic against the persecutors the Anabaptists appeal constantly to this threat. Thus, for instance, writes Jacob Hutter in his well known letter of 1535 to the governor of Moravia, "Ach und wehe, und abermals wehe allen denen, die uns ohne Ursach verfolgen, vertreiben, hassen, denn ihr Verderben, Straf und Verdammnis nahet sich herzu und wird erschreckenlich über sie

137 *Ausbund,* 111f, 199.

138 Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* 208-9.

139 *Ausbund,* 246.

140 *Ausbund,* 733.

141 Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* 209; *Ausbund,* 178. The heavenly Jerusalem is mentioned in *Ausbund,* 433.

142 Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* 208. In fact, Job 21:13 says, "down to the grave." Hell is Menno Simons' word. [For another alteration of a Bible text see n. 126 *supra.*] [R. F.] Other examples, *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 885.

143 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 646b.

kommen".[144] It is interesting to note which texts they think of in this connection. At one place in the Hutterite Chronicle the writer collects all the pertinent texts, naming Joel 3; Deut. 32; 4th Ezra 15; Judith 8; Gen. 9.[145] The *Ausbund* adds to these Old Testament threats one more reference from the New Testament.

Christus spricht auch, merck eben,
Wer den Kleinsten was tut
Und denen, die an mich glauben,
Es sei bös oder gut,
Dasselbige hat er mir gethan.
Drum, o Mensch, merck eben,
Lass Gott sein Kinder gahn.[146]

Again and again the Anabaptists shout these words of vengeance from Bible and Apocalpyses into the raging world. The Hutterite martyr Hans Oberecker thrice envisions in his dungeon-prison the Day of the Last Judgment, and sees with his inner eye how mighty and awful this day turns out for the godless, so that he prays, "O mein Gott, lass uns nimmer in deinen Zorn fallen, der so gross ist und erschreckenlich über die Kinder der Bosheit." [147]

As a matter of fact, in all these quotations the brethren do not look for satisfaction of a primitive urge for vengeance, nor for fulfillment of a moral demand. They look rather for an answer to the problem of theodicy.[148] Not for the sake of the martyrs but for his own sake God must disclose his power and his justice, must prove that he, God, has the last word in history, namely the word which gives to all history its meaning and without which there could be no serious appreciation of that history. This is the deepest motive of the apocalypse of martyrdom as of all apocalyptic writing at large: the extremities of history can find their answer only in a last redeeming event of history itself. This is the inner-most concern of all theological realism, the common basis of all Anabaptists. It is the thought that the theological problems of reality as experienced here and now can be overcome only through the belief that in the end God will be true to himself [*sich selbst verwirklichen*]. Here is no escape into a religion of pietism [*Innerlichkeit*] or of a super- or trans-historical dimension, neither can there be an evaporation of the historical realities into a vague

144 *Chronik,* 150.
145 *Chronik,* 240. Note that no New Testament texts are mentioned.
146 *Ausbund,* 678.
147 *Chronik,* 160.
148 *Ausbund,* 226.

eschatology of the Spirit. And this is also the background of the passionate rejection of all mystics and "spiritual reformers" who tried to intrude into the brotherhood and who "have a perverted mind as if there were no angel nor devil."[149] Such people were unhesitatingly expelled from the church of God. This explains the recurring question as to the path and the end of the godless in the historic world, and explains also the recurring eschatological conclusion: God gave them their reward, "some with terrible fright and bad end, that they became aware of what they actually have done like Judas who betrayed the Lord. On the Day of Judgment their hair will raise. . . "[150]

The Anabaptists like their forerunners of the Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic exhibit therefore a predilection for terms which emphasize the historical reality of all revelations of God: after a time of darkness, during which God hides himself behind his historical world, follows the day of manifestation on which God becomes visible in this historical universe. Thus men learn the truth; they learn it in their own bodies and see with their own eyes that there is a God. "Shortly you will see that we have spoken to you the Divine truth", thus writes Jacob Hutter to the governor of Moravia in his aforementioned letter of 1535. And in the same way Menno Simons comforts the heavy laden ones: "all our persecutors shall then be as ashes under the soles of our feet, and they shall know but too late that emperor, king, duke, prince, crown, scepter, majesty, power, sword, and mandate, are but earth, dust, wind, and smoke."[151] The *Ausbund* also prophesies in this fashion:

> Dann werden sie erkennen,
> Wider wen sie sich gesperrt.[152]

The Anabaptist apocalyptic of martrydom is the testimony of a theological realism to which God is more real than anything called "world." For this reason the fellowship of martyrs forms the race of the future, and therefore their persecutors must be shattered as soon as God's reality becomes manifest. For this reason the eschatology of the Anabaptists culminates again and again in the old triumphant phrase of the "Theology of Martyrdom": "They shall see whom they have pierced (Rev. 1:7)".[153]

[149] *Chronik,* 139. See also Friedmann, "Reason and Obedience, A letter of Peter Walpot (1571) and its Meaning," *M.Q.R.* XIX, (1945), 27. [R. F.]

[150] *Chronik,* 142: "Am Gerichtstag Gottes aber werden ihnen die Haare erst gen Berg stehn. Blut werden alsdann schwitzen solche Schalk, und wünschen, dass sie nie geboren wären."

[151] Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 205.

[152] *Asbund,* 384.

[153] *Chronik,* 705 and *passim;* Menno Simons, *op. cit.,* 211.

Baptism, Confession, and Defencelessness, in the Frame of the "Theology of Martyrdom".

The "Theology of Martyrdom" is the crypt or hidden sanctuary of Anabaptist Christianity. Externally, Anabaptism became known by its peculiarities in practical matters, primarily by its challenging attitude regarding baptism, confession of faith, and rejection of use of force. The last question in our present study is whether the motives of the "Theology of Martyrdom" are also discernible in these more external features. No complete answer is possible as long as the *Täuferakten,* the official records, are not readily available. Yet, even scanty material at disposal seems to indicate a positive answer.

The Anabaptists not only renewed the mode of baptism of the early Christians, they also renewed the old ideas of baptism as death [*Tauftod*] and death as baptism [*Todestaufe*]. Often baptism is understood with Paul as a dying with Christ. Thus, for instance, writes Conrad Grebel in his "Protestation and Schutzschrift": "Wer den Tauf hat, der ist im Tode Christi gepflanzet worden".[154] And the *Ausbund* sings

> Der Tauff noch ist hie in der Frist
> Mit Jesu Christ verleiben.[155]

Oftener, however, the martyr's death for the sake of Christ is understood as a baptism, apparently following the word of Jesus, "I have a baptism to be baptized with" (Luke 12:50; Mk. 10:38; Mt. 20:22). Thus Anneken of Rotterdam begins the testament which she handed to her son on the morning of her execution (January 24, 1539) as follows: "My son, hear the instruction of your mother; open your ears to hear the words of my mouth. Behold, I go today the way of the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and drink of the cup they all have drunk. I go, I say, the way which Christ Jesus . . . himself went . . . and who had to drink of this cup ever as He said, 'I have a cup to drink of and a baptism to be baptized with. And how am I straitened till it be accomplished'. Having passed through, He calls His sheep, and His sheep hear His voice and follow Him whithersoever He goes. This way was trodden by the dead under the altar. . . . In this way walked also those who were marked by the Lord (Ez. 9:6)." In this tone the testament proceeds in words of apocalyptic greatness and a seriousness derived from the other world. "For, where you hear of the

154 Neff in *Gedenkschrift,* 1925, 131, 10ff.

155 Meaning: "ihm einverleibt." *Ausbund,* 607, see also p. 608.

cross there is Christ; from there do not depart."[156] Thus, Jesus' word of the baptism through death shines like a distant beacon-light over the paths of those faithful to him.

In the same sense, in his preface to the *Martyrs' Mirror,* Van Braght speaks of Christ's death, even amplifying the figure of Luke 12 to a bold picture: Good Friday is the day when "all the fountains of the great deep broke forth over Him and the floods of suffering overflowed Him, to swallow Him up altogether".[157] And then he draws the line from Christ to his disciples and followers, quoting Matthew 20:22 in a peculiar interpretation.[158]

Following these words of Jesus, Anabaptism developed, apparently rather early, a fixed formula of speech. In his letter to Thomas Müntzer of September, 1524, Conrad Grebel already used this figure in speaking of the Christians who must be baptized "in suffering and death".[159] Above all the Hutterites use this phrase in their Chronicle whenever they speak of their martyrs. Following their great "Table of Martyrs" (p. 234f,) a marginal note says this: "Andre, die verkürzt waren und den Wassertauff nit erlanget, eilten darnach zur Tauff des Bluts" (p. 238). Accordingly it reports later of Jost Wilhelms, executed about 1618, "Obwohl er den Wassertauff, wie herzlich (er) auch darnach geeifert, nit erreichen konnte, hat er doch nach seinem Wünschen und Begehren den Tauff des Bluts erlangt".[160] Still further goes the hymn composed in memory of the Hutterite martyr Christine Brünnerin who was put to death together with Jost Wilhelms.

> Der Tauff des Heiligen Geists
> Ward ihnen von Gott gegeben,
> Sonst hätt'n sie nit g'habt solch Kraft,
> Den Tauff des Bluts zu erlangen,
> Mit so grosser Standhaft.[161]

Very common in Anabaptist texts is the idea of this relationship between baptism and death derived from the painful experience

156 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 453-4. This testament was first printed in *Het Offer des Heeren* of 1570 which contains also her farewell hymn. *Cf. Bibl. Ref. Neerlandica,* II, 70f, 75f. From there the hymn was lifted into the *Ausbund* ("18. Lied," 110f). This is a very good case in point for the Anabaptist tradition of martyrdom and the history of Anabaptist martyrbooks. Cf. Wolkan, *Lieder,* 65 and 129. On Anneken Jans see also Roland H. Bainton, *David Joris,* Leipzig, 1937, 26ff. [R. F.]

157 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 68.

158 *Ibid.,* 72.

159 *Journal of American Theology,* IX, (1905) 91ff.

160 *Chronik,* 701f.

161 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 820. Cf. *Chronik,* 704, where the story of these two martyrs is told.

of the Anabaptists themselves, namely the idea that baptism is the sealing unto suffering and death. The *Martyrs' Mirror,* for instance, quotes a verse by Prosperus,

> Sanctify, baptism will indeed,
> But the martyr's crown doth all complete.

And comments on it as follows, "He means to say that those who were then baptized had to expect martyrdom".[162] Balthasar Hubmaier seems to have the earliest reference to this thought and he tried to prove its truth (in the style of the old imitation of Christ principle) by the pattern of Christ's life: if a man is baptized and now witnesses the truth, "tribulation, temptation, persecution, and the cross will follow and all the trials such that man has no comfort and support whatsoever but the Word of God as it happened to Christ after his baptism (Mt. 3)".[163]

The idea that baptism stands at the beginning of the way whose end is martyrdom found deep roots in Anabaptism.

> Wer den Tauff nimmt, zu Hand ihm kommt
> Kreuz, Trübsal und das Leiden,

sings Hans Betz, one of the prisoners in the castle of Passau, 1535, where the *Ausbund* originated.[164] He, too, had a theological foundation for this combination of baptism and martyrdom, to be true more exegetical than typological [as with Hubmaier]. That is, he recognized the necessity of this sequence from I. John 5:8, the well known expression, "spirit, water, and blood."

> Drei Zeugnisse sind uns hier beschieden,
> Die zwei man heisst Wasser und Geist,
> Der dritte, Blut, das ist Leiden.[164]

A later Hutterite hymn elaborates this idea still further: whosoever will enter into a covenant with God needs three witnesses in Heaven, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and three witnesses on earth, spirit, water, and blood. The first baptism is the baptism with spirit, the second the baptism with water, but the third is the baptism with blood.[165] The interpretations change somewhat but the basic idea remains: the right baptism of Christ entails the Cross.[166]

162 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 190, and 198.

163 *Vom Tauff,* fol. 1.

164 *Ausbund,* 608. Wolkan, *Lieder,* 31-35, calls him a true poet. [R. F.]

165 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* p. 577f; a hymn by the well known Hutterite missionary in the Rhineland, Hans Raiffer (d. 1558).

166 Cf. *Chronik,* 44, "Die Kindstauffer . . . liessen den rechten Tauff fahren, der das Kreuz gewiss mit sich bringt."

The Anabaptists know this and therefore accept consciously baptism as a pledge of faith to follow their master devotedly unto death.[167] It is expressed briefly and concisely by the outstanding early martyr, Hans Schlaffer (d. 1528):

> Denn er sich hat durchs Wiederbad
> Ergeben gar bis in den Tod.[168]

And Anneken of Rotterdam sings in her hymn, interpreting her above-mentioned testament,

> Diesen Weg auch gangen sind
> All die frommen Gottes Kind,
> Die den Tauff hond empfangen,
>
> An ihren Stirnen versieglet,
> Folgen dem Lamm, wo es hingeht,
> Dienen ihm mit Verlangen. [169]

Baptism is the "dubbing of the retainer of Christ" on the march to the Cross. It cannot be otherwise, for baptism is the seal of the covenant [*Bundessiegel*][170] of the faithful with God, which seals our allegiance to Christ and our membership in his church. Christ himself is the one who is at all times persecuted, and his church is a church of martyrdom. As soon as a brother is converted to the truth (which is in Jesus Christ and his church), he must expect the mortal hostility of the "world."

This leads us to the second issue, the relationship between confession and martyrdom. Often the Anabaptist brotherhood has been held to be a church without confession,[171] but this viewpoint is no longer tenable.[172] On the contrary, the Anabaptists are most ready to confess their faith and give account of it [*Rechenschaft*]. They had their disputations and their synods,[173] their doctrinal norms and

[167] *Ausbund,* 534, by Hans Haffner, another Anabaptist who was imprisoned in Passau, 1535, where the first hymn collection was composed which forms the core of the *Ausbund.* Haffner is also the author of the tract *Concerning a true soldier of Christ,* excerpts of which were published by Robert Friedmann in *M.Q.R.* V (1931). [R. F.]

[168] *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 23.

[169] *Ausbund,* 112.

[170] According to I Petr. 3:21 in German translation, "Die Taufe ist der *Bund* eines guten Gewissens mit Gott." The English Bible has, "*answer* of a good conscience toward God." This verse of I Peter became a basic text in all Anabaptist theology. [R. F.]

[171] Mainly among the liberal Doopsgezinden of the Netherlands.

[172] See E. Händiges, *Die Lehre der Mennoniten in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* (Kaiserslautern, 1921)

[173] E.g., 1527: The Seven Articles of Schleitheim, drawn up by Michel Sattler. (see n. 74 *supra*); Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* (1540); Pilgram Marpeck's great

boundaries, and they did not refrain from excommunication in case of doctrinal discordance. Yet, their confessions are definitely different from those of the established churches, they have their own color, conditioned by their historic and religious background. This means, they are confessions of martyrs. The old words "confessor" and confession" regain in Anabaptism their original seriousness.

It cannot be otherwise since the Anabaptists were in the same situation as the early Christians who had to formulate and defend their faith before courts. As in those early "Acts of Martyrs", the testimony of faith of the Anabaptists has an all important place in their trial records. Here we find their most precise and concise formulations. The *Martyrs' Mirror* and the Hutterite Chronicle contain many examples of this, beginning with the proceedings of Michael Sattler's trial (1527), which carefully enumerate the eight points of indictment.[174]

The same can be said of the Anabaptist hymns which tell of the manly testimonies of the confessors, often in moving words. A particularly outstanding example of this is the *14. Lied* in the *Ausbund* [taken from *Het Offer des Heeren*] which contains the story of the last disputation between Joos Kind and the "Sophists" who then burned him at the stake (1553). Joos concludes his testimony, which in the hymn runs through eighteen stanzas, as follows:

> Für diese Lehr wahrhaft und theuer
> Will ich gehen willig in das Feuer,
> Dieselbe frei bekennend.[175]

In a similar way Conrad Grebel writes in his last letter to his brother-in-law Vadian, "If God permits I shall testify the truth unto death."[176] To be sure, Joos Kind knows all too well that arguments will be of no avail at all: it is only martyrdom which will seal his testimony, as he writes in his farewell letter: "I hope that the seal of this letter will be the putting off of my body."[177] The postscript to

Verantwortung of 1542; also Peter Walpot's *Five Articles* and the great *Article Book* of about 1545 (See R. Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der Hutterischen Täufergemeinschaften in Mähren," *Arch. f. Reform. Gesch.,* 1931-32). Famous synods: 1528, Augsburg (socalled martyrs' synod), 1555, Strassburg. Disputations: Bern, Switzerland, 1538, Franckenthal, 1570, etc. See *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* articles "Bekenntnisse des Glaubens," "Disputationen," "Märtyrer Synode," etc. [R. F.]

174 *Chronik,* 55.

175 *Ausbund,* 81. The model for this hymn was apparently two letters of Joos Kind, later printed in the *Martyrs' Mirror,* 540, and 543.

176 Neff, in *Gedenkschrift,* 1925, 20.

177 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 546.

the testament of Anneken of Rotterdam speaks similiarly, "Thereupon she sealed this with her blood and as a pious heroine and follower of Jesus Christ she was received among the number of the witnesses of God who were offered up".[178] In the Hutterite Chronicle such formulas have a fixed style: *Sie haben, was sie mit dem Mund bekannten, mit dem Blut bezeugt.* [What they confessed by mouth, they testified by blood.] In this way, "confession" becomes almost synonymous with "passion." Also those prisoners, who had not yet been baptized upon confession, proved "enduring in all tribulations, and confessed well, as all the other ones, before many witnesses".[179] In these confessions a power and reality is revealed which is not of this world.

For this reason the congregations are passionately on the alert to see whether the brethren will hold on when they are tried out [*wenn sie in die Prob kommen*], and keep to their confession. Their deepest hymns of thanks are those in which they can sing of how a brother held faithful unto the end.[180] When Balthasar Hubmaier went to the stake (1528), so tradition has it, he promised his wife that he would lift his finger as a sign that he still stood true to his faith. The flames went up, and he lifted his hands three times before the fire took his life.

But why must the confession be sealed with blood; why is there no other decisive proof than the one of suffering and death? To this the Anabaptists answer: because our confession is a confession to truth. Here we meet again the Anabaptist concept of "Truth" with its tremendous implications. Christ was persecuted and crucified because he is the truth.[181] He remained invincible and rose again on the third day, because he himself is the truth. Whosoever professes the truth must not expect nor desire any other way.

In a world which shuts itself off from truth by every means, with contradiction and scholarly sophistication, with deafness and dullness, with overbearing and hatred, as the *Ausbund* sings:

> Wer die rechte Wahrheit lehrt,
> Den kann die Welt erdulden nit,
> Weil ihr' Gelehrten sind verkenhrt.[182]

178 *Ibid.*, 454.

179 *Chronik*, 202. The brethren had I Tim. 6:12 in mind, "Fight the good fight of faith, . . . and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses."

180 *Ausbund*, 88.

181 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.*, 214b, 437.

182 *Ausbund*, 25, also 247. Also *Chronik*, 50.

in such a world there is no other chance to bring truth to victory than through catastrophe.[183] Truth cannot manifest itself otherwise than through the loyalty of the confessors; therefore the sneering triumph of the world when "through tyranny" some brethren "fell back from truth"; therefore the deep passion of a Hutterite brother, Thomas Hermann, minister of the Gospel, who in such a moment pressed through the crowd and joyfully exclaims, "It is the truth what I taught you and I shall testify it with my blood" (1527).[184] Thus it is ever a triumphant report when the chronicles can record, "He, too, has knightly testified to the Divine truth with his blood.[185] This was the proof delivered by unconquered suffering and death: *Die Wahrheit ist untödtlich.*

More, this truth rises out of the blood of its confessors with increased strength. In this sense Sigmund Hassauer, another Hutterite minister of the Word, sings in his powerful hymn about Hans Pürchner's death:

> Noch tut die Wahrheit schallen,
> Macht ihren Anschlag hallen,
> Ihr Blut, das red' und schreit.[186]

Of course, the Anabaptists did not stop at such individual confession. When Peter Riedemann draws up a *Rechenschaft unseres Glaubens* (1540), it is done "in the name of the church".[187] The *Martyrs' Mirror* contains a number of formulated confessions of faith upon which different groups agreed, such as the Dordrecht confession of 1632, or Jansz Twisk's great Thirty-three articles.[188] To be sure these confessions must also be understood primarily under the aspect of the "Theology of Martyrdom." Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* was written in prison, and it is no mere chance that Van Braght included confessions of faith in a martyrs' book. With this he wanted to say: this was the foundation of those, "who did not spare their dear lives but gave them unto death for their God and Saviour."[189] These confessions of faith are not doctrinal systems of an established church which enforced acceptance by burning at the stake. Joos Kind formulated this antithesis in his farewell

183 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 523; *Chronik,* 399; *Ausbund,* 284, which hymn, however, is not of Anabaptist origin.

184 *Chronik,* 57; *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 27; see also the above (n. 74) quoted conclusion of Article V of the *Schleitheim Articles.*

185 *Chronik,* 104.

186 *Lieder d. Hut. Br.,* 437.

187 *Ibid.,* 450; and *Chronik, passim.*

188 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 373-410.

189 *Ibid.,* 372b, prefacing Twisk's *Confession.*

letter more pointedly than anyone before him.[190] One faces here confessions of a martyrs' church which testified to faith at the stake.

This leads us to the third and last issue to be discussed in this connection, the Anabaptist demand of defencelessness.[191] The religious starting point of the Anabaptist practice of defencelessness is the idea of what the Dutch Mennonites called "lijdzaamheid" [readiness to suffer], and the German and Swiss brethren called "Gelassenheit" [resignation, yieldedness], an old idea of the "Theology of Martyrdom". It is the Anabaptist term for that attitude which Jesus asked of his disciples when he sent them out on a mission or which he taught in the Sermon on the Mount or in the apocalyptic chapters of the Gospel as a requirement for all those who are persecuted for his name. The disciples of Christ [*Nachfolger*] are sent out like sheep among wolves. But they shall suffer the hostility of the world according to the example of their master without resistance, and shall not return hatred with hatred, wrath with wrath, injustice with vengeance. Rather they shall love their enemies and pray for their persecutors. Whosoever remains faithful to the end, will receive the heavenly crown. The Anabaptists quoted these texts many times and correctly understood them as the call of Christ to his followers to accept persecution willingly and without defence, and also to avoid any violence in religious matters. Conrad Grebel quotes these words in his letter to Thomas Müntzer, 1524, and so does Henrich Alewynss in a farewell letter to his children.[192] In the tradition of the "Theology of Martyrdom" this attitude might be traced far back to the ideals of the chassidic martyrs in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes IV (c. 175 B.C.) and to the pseudoepigraphical *Psalms of Solomon* (c. 60 B.C.). The culmination, however, of this attitude of "Lijdzaamheid" is the intercessory prayer of the dying martyr for his persecutors, in which even the last word of the old polemic against persecutors, the cry to God for vengeance, may be submerged.[193]

Up to this point, readiness for martyrdom and defencelessness are almost identical concepts, merely two different expressions for the demands of the Sermon on the Mount. In this religious readiness for suffering, and rejection of personal vengeance and use of

190 *Ibid.*, 450, and 453.

191 *Wehrlosigkeit,* sometimes also called *Gewaltlosigkeit* or *Nonresistance.* The term "non-violence" is not fitting for this attitude. See G. F. Hershberger, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance,* (Scottdale, Pa., 1944). [R. F.]

192 *Martyrs' Mirror,* 750-757, more in Händiges, *op. cit.,* 62.

193 Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 184-5 (most important passage). See also *Ausbund,* 336, 135, 329.

force, all Anabaptists are one. Yet, the great majority of the brethren went one step further and demanded conscientious objection to war. Conrad Grebel said it unequivocally enough: "True Christian believers . . . neither use worldly sword nor war, since all killing has ceased with them altogether."[194] And Peter Riedemann, the Hutterite, repudiates in his *Rechenschaft* not only service in war, but also the making of arms, "auf dass die Heiligen Gottes nit frembder Sünd teilhaft werden (I. Tim. 5:22)". On this point the Anabaptist brethren deny obedience to the authorities because of religious principles. And they are but consistent when they, vice versa, also refuse all protection by the authorities both in religious matters and otherwise. "The gospel and its adherents are not to be protected by the sword nor are they thus to protect themselves."[195]

All important, of course, is the foundation of this conscientious objection on a theology of history. "Moses and his successors with their iron sword have served their day since Christ has now given us a new command and another sword", says Menno Simons clearly.[196] Therefore use of force is an anachronism, and if the tyrants, and in particular the Lutheran church, still wage war under the pretense of the promotion of their creed, then the true people of God have nothing to do with these pre-christian abominations.[197] "For we have by the manifest grace of God beaten our swords into ploughshares and our spears into pruning hooks. And we shall sit under the true Vine, Christ, under the Prince of eternal peace, and will never take part in bloody wars".[198] While the world outside perishes practising hatred and force, the church of God already has carried into practice the coming order of peace. "For, understand, the prophecy is fulfilled which said with reference to this time that such people have beaten their swords into ploughshares and their spears into sickles. . . . Hence, Christians now may not wage war any more."[199] The objection to war is practiced in the certainty that the practice of war has been overcome through Christ, and that therefore at least the church of God must not have anything to do with these practices of by-gone times. Conscientious objection to war is but the practical expression of a basic criticism of war at

194 *Journal of American Theology,* IX, 95.

195 *Ibid.,* 95.

196 Menno Simons, *The Cross,* 198.

197 *Ibid.* According to K. Vos, *Menno Simons* (Leiden, 1914), 295, this passage is an allusion to the Schmalkald War of 1546f.

198 *Ibid.,* 198.

199 Hendrik Alewyns' farewell letter of 1569, in *Martyrs' Mirror,* 754b.

large. Jacob Hutter writes in his oft -mentioned 1538 letter to the governor of Moravia, "Wir sagen und wollten, dass alle Welt wäre wie wir, und möchten jedermann zu diesem Glauben bringen und bekehren, so würde alles Kriegen und (alle) Ungerechtigkeit ein Ende haben."[200]

No doubt this statement goes somewhat beyond the "Theology of Martyrdom" proper. In words like this the apocalyptic vision seems almost to have vanished, namely that the need of creation is unconquered and that the perversion of creation is its certain fate. Vanished is the idea that all history is conflict even after Calvary. But very soon these rudiments of a millenial theology in Anabaptism died out, and history necessitated a concentration of all strength upon the genuine heritage, that is the "Theology of Martyrdom". The Anabaptists paid for their peace testimony with increased persecutions. They accepted them and by that testified that the peace of the Kingdom of Christ has no abode on earth in this æon. Conflict is the main feature of this æon, and the path of discipleship of Christ remains for the entire span between Calvary and the end a way of martyrdom.

[N. B. The last two pages of the original German article have been omitted from this translation inasmuch as they are not relevant to the subject. R.F.]

200 *Chronik,* 152. "We say and wish that all the world would be as we are. It is our desire to bring and convert everybody to this faith; then, all warfare and all injustice would come to an end."

EXTINCT OHIO MENNONITE CHURCHES

V. Ashland County, II

JOHN UMBLE

The Milton Township Group near Paradise Hill

It will be convenient to discuss the two Ashland County Mennonite groups separately. First the group in the central and northern part of Milton township. This includes the Imhoffs, Ballys, Reiffs, Ramers, Hearsts (sic!), Erbs, and others. These families buried their dead in the Imhoff cemetery.[16]

The Reiff family was among the earliest of these settlers in the northern part of the settlement. Abraham Reiff, the father, died in Lancaster County (?), Pennsylvania, in 1818. Then in 1826 his widow, Nancy (Hershey) Reiff and all of her children except Elizabeth, Jacob, and Joseph located at Olivesburg about five miles northwest of Five Points. The Reiffs, Harnleys and Porters of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois are descendants of this family. The daughter Elizabeth, mentioned here, married Bishop Joseph Borkholder (1803-1875) (also spelled Burkholder), of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His brother, Peter Borkholder,[17] was one of the founders of the now extinct Williams County, Ohio, Mennonite congregation.

Burials in cemeteries in the vicinity indicate that at one time there was a large Mennonite population in this part of Milton

[16] A few of the land purchases will assist in placing this group with reference to the other early settlers near Five Points.

1830 Christian Reiff from John Reddick—thirty acres in Montgomery Township for $75.00 about three miles northeast of Five Points.

1832 Peter Enhoof (Imhoff), eighty acres for $400.00 about two and one half miles north of Five Points and one fourth mile southeast of Paradise Hill. This was the south half of the southwest quarter of Section Fifteen in Milton Township, the old Peter Imhoff homestead.

1832 William Imhoff, eighty acres for $185.18, five and one-half miles north of Five Points.

1833 Samuel Bally, eighty acres for $209.92, about four miles northeast of Five Points and two miles east of Paradise Hill.

1834 Peter Nunemaker, forty acres, about five miles northwest of Paradise Hill.

1837 Henry Rutt from Christian Fike, one hundred acres, four and one-half miles north of Five Points.

1839 William H. Imhoff, 195 acres, in the extreme northeast corner of Orange Township nearly ten miles northeast of Ashland. (William H. and Susan Imhoff, his wife, moved to Ohio in 1834. Their youngest son, William G., born in Ohio, was a member of the Lutheran Church.)

[17] See "The Extinct Mennonite Church in Williams County," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XVIII (January, 1944), 37-8.

Township and in Clear Creek to the north.[18] Two children of A. and S. Erb, who died in 1838 and 1846, are buried in the Patterson cemetery one mile east of Savannah. Several Hearsts (sic!) are buried in the same cemetery. John Hearst, died 1859, aged 49. John, died 1867, aged 73. Mary, wife of James Hearst, died 1837, aged 76. Here is the grave also of Johannes Metz, who died May 15, 1847, aged 41.

Several of the Imhoffs and others moved to Chester Township, Wayne County, and are buried in the Mennonite Cemetery adjoining the Old Order Mennonite meetinghouse grounds. Peter Imhoff, son of the bishop, died June 13, 1911, aged 66-10-7. John Imhoff, died June 27, 1917, aged 74-11-23. His second wife, Emeline (Landis), died September 24, 1917, aged 70 years, 10 mo. Jacob Landis, born 1792, died 1840. Joseph Showalter, died February 22, 1862, aged 71-7-9. His wife Martha, died July 18, 1866, aged 75-0-8. Here also are buried Bechtels, Shaums and Troxels some of whom possibly moved back to Wayne after living further west. Anna, wife of "Rev. P[eter] Troxel", for instance, who may have lived as far west as Wood County, died here July 22, 1843, at the age of 35-9-4.

Several German Mennonite families came from the Rhine Country in 1832 and settled in Richland County. The one group set sail from Havre, the other from Bremen. In the group coming by way of Havre were the families of John and Samuel Bally (pronounced bal-lee, with the accent on the last syllable), Samuel Hartman, and Preacher Peter Beutler and his family with his brother, Jacob, and two sisters. Samuel Hartman's wife, Maria, was a sister

[18] Following are a few of the many Mennonite names in the Imhoff Cemetery northwest of Paradise Hill. Jacob Ramer, d. 1844. (A. Jacob and Catherine (Reed) Ramer left Ohio and settled in Harrison Township, Elkhart County, Indiana, in the early years of the Mennonite immigration. A certain Samuel Ramer born in Crawford County, Ohio, about twenty-five miles west of Paradise Hill on November 24, 1840, died at Versailles, Missouri, on May 3, 1917). Susanna, wife of Jacob Sahm (Shaum), d. 1886. Abraham Reiff, d. December 8, 1843. Jacob Bally, d. January 14, 1843, aged 50, killed by a falling limb while chopping in the woods. Sophia, his wife, d. November 15, 1894, aged 94-7-26 (Their married daughter was killed by lightning in the dooryard of her home on August 11, 1864, and their son John died on June 19, 1871, in twenty minutes after he was stung behind the ear by a bee while he was helping his brother to hive a swarm. This son was a member of the United Brethren Church). Lydia, wife of John Lehman, Sr., d. March 23, 1889, aged 84-6-26. Mary, wife of John Rutt, died March 8, 1885, aged 84-6-26. Tobias Landis, b. April 2, 1822, d. April 25, 1900. Elizabeth (Pletcher) Imhoff, wife of Bishop Peter Imhoff, d. December 30, 1886, aged 73 years and 10 days. Barbary (*sic!*) wife of Jacob Ramer, d. March 8, 1838, aged 57. Two infant sons of J[ohn] and C[atherine] Imhoff, d. 1835 and 1838. Another Imhoff child, d. June 28, 1831 (1837?). Son of T[heodore?] and E. Imhoof (sic!), d. November 17, 1858. Jacob G. Grabill, d. September 5, 1881, aged 24-5-12. John Imhoff, b. November 10, 1798, d. November 16, 1869. His wife, Catherine, d. 1882. Samuel Imhoff, d. 1875. Peter Moser, d. January 24, 1872, aged 79-8-1; (he was the husband of Regina Imhoff, born October 16, 1794, the eldest sister of Bishop Peter Imhoff).

of the Bally brothers. Beutler's wife was a sister of Samuel Bally's wife.[19] Cholera broke out on the vessel. Samuel Bally's wife died and was buried one day before the ship reached port, leaving him with eight children. Beutler's sister became ill but recovered. His wife gave birth to twins during the epidemic, one of whom died leaving them with five children. The John Bally family had three children and Samuel Hartmans, ten. Since Peter Beutler purchased a farm southeast of Five Points in Vermillion Township, he will be considered in connection with the Pleasant Ridge settlement.

According to Preacher John Risser, who also settled in Vermillion Township, John and Samuel Bally brought their families to Ashland County after spending a short time in Lancaster County where the sympathies of the people were aroused to such an extent by the misfortunes of Samuel Bally that they took up a freewill offering of over two hundred dollars for him and his orphaned children. If Risser is right in stating that John Bally came to Ashland with Samuel, John must have returned to Lancaster County. His obituary printed in the *Herald of Truth* in 1871 (page 30) makes no reference to his having lived in Ohio. He was received into the Mennonite Church in Bavaria (the Bavarian Palatinate) in his youth. On the death of his wife soon after their arrival in America their only daughter took charge of the family until her brother Samuel married Marie Stauffer in 1846. Samuel is said to have been instrumental in organizing a Sunday School in Lancaster County. He died December 23, 1891, near Strasburg, in that county, at the age of seventy-six.[20]

A certain Frank Bally, who lived in Maryland, was born in Bavaria April 13, 1817, was baptized into the Mennonite Church in 1831, and was brought to America by his parents who had one other son and a daughter. He may have been the other son of John Bally.[21] He died in Maryland in 1903.

Samuel Bally and his family remained in Ashland County for a time. Samuel died there about 1852. After his death a son, Henry, moved to Miami County, Indiana, where he died in 1902. In 1896 he united with the German Baptist church.[22]

John and Samuel Bally were brothers of the well-known

[19] The Mennonite historian learns to look for family ties of various sorts among Mennonite emigrants. Mennonite family ties being strong, a Mennonite family seldom set out from home alone.

[20] *Herald of Truth,* XXIX (January 15, 1892), 30.

[21] *Herald of Truth,* XL (May 21, 1903), 168. His wife's obituary, Catharine (Hemberger) Bally, is printed in the *Gospel Herald,* III (April 21, 1910), 47.

[22] *Herald of Truth,* XXXIX (July 1, 1902), 207.

Bishop Jost Bally who moved to Woodford County, Illinois, at an early date. In 1865 the latter and his wife spent two weeks visiting his sister-in-law, attending two meetings, and visiting brethren, sisters, and friends in Ashland County. The "two meetings" probably were held at the Brubaker Meetinghouse south of Paradise Hill on one Sunday and at the Beutler or Pleasant Ridge Church in Vermillion Township on the other. In that year the list of subscribers to the *Herald of Truth* included, among others from Woodford County, Illinois, Preacher Jost Bally, Samuel Bally, Peter Bally, Henry Bally, and Joseph Reiff, of Roanoke, Illinois, and Jacob B. Bally, of Metamora.

Samuel Hartman, whose wife was a sister of the Bally brothers, was not able to pay the passage to America for his large family. The money for the ocean trip had been advanced by a certain Jacob Stauffer, Sr., a well-to-do Mennonite miller of Lancaster County. Hence Samuel Hartman and his family remained in Lancaster County and worked in the mill until they had repaid the passage money.

The Mennonite name associated for the longest period with the Mennonite Church in Ashland was that of Bishop Peter Imhoff.[23] He arrived in New York on his eighteenth birthday anniversary, July 4, 1824, accompanied by his brother, John, aged twenty-five. Their brothers, Theodore and Jacob, both single, had come to America a year or two earlier.[24] Theodore remained in Pennsylvania (in

[23] Peter Imhoff and his brothers, with their brother-in-law, Peter Moser, husband of their sister Regina, and with their cousins John and Peter Nusbaum, represented another immigrant group. They came from Switzerland, probably eighteen or twenty miles from the city of Berne. The earliest group in Ashland County, as already stated, were the Lancaster County Mennonites. Another important group, some of whom have been mentioned above, were the Palatines—the Beutlers, Ballys, Hartmans, Rissers—some of whom arrived in 1832, some a little later. Another Bishop Peter Imhoff was born in Darmuschel in the Bavarian Palatinate, September 16, 1819, emigrated to Butler County, Ohio, in 1840, and on July 12, 1842, married Catharine Augspurger. He was ordained minister in 1861 and bishop in 1871.

[24] The Imhoff brothers were the sons of John Imhoff whose wife's name was (Anna, or possibly Barbara) Nusbaum. John Imhoff and his wife and at least one married daughter seem never to have come to America.

The family has preserved the following record:

1. Regina, b. October 16, 1794, married Peter Moser (Musser) and came to America.
2. Barbara, b. November 5, 1795, married to ——— Gerber.
3. Anna, b. March 3, 1797, single, died of smallpox in Switzerland.
4. John Imhoff [Jr.], b. November 10, 1798, came to America in 1824.
5. Theodore or Durs (Theodorus?), b. March 3, 1800, came to America, probably in 1822.
6. Jacob, b. July, 1801, came to America with Theodore.
7. Peter Imhoff (the bishop), b. July 4, 1806, arrived at New York with John, July 4, 1824.

The family was very poor in Switzerland, farming rented land high up in the almost inaccessible parts of the mountains because Mennonites were not allowed (so tradition records) to farm the better lands in the valleys.

Lancaster County?) for a few years and married there before moving to Ashland County. John and Jacob, however, went on to Ohio and married in Ashland County. John purchased the farm where the Imhoff Cemetery is now located and was buried there in 1869. Jacob went on to DeKalb County, Indiana, and died there about 1887.

Peter Imhoff, however, stayed on in Pennsylvania, possibly to repay someone who had advanced his passage money. He worked on a farm for three years at six dollars a month the year round. When he was twenty-one (in 1827), he walked to Ashland County, where his brothers, John and Theodore, and his cousins, John and Peter Nusbaum, were then living, carrying his money and everything that he owned. On learning that he did not have enough money to make even a down payment on a farm he retraced his steps, walking all the way, and worked two years more on the same farm. Then once more carrying all his possessions, he made the trip afoot to Ashland County. He purchased eighty acres of virgin timber land thickly wooded with maple, beech, hickory, oak, poplar and walnut. The purchase price was four hundred dollars but he had only two hundred! For the other two hundred dollars he contracted to clear forty acres of virgin timber land for —— Stoner, the father of John and Jacob Stoner. Peter Imhoff's purchase was the old Imhoff homestead just east of Paradise Hill where the family of Bishop Peter Imhoff was reared.

But years were still to pass before Peter Imhoff could marry and settle down. The contract for clearing the forty acres for Stoner called for grubbing out by the roots all of the smaller trees like dogwood and ironwood and also any other small trees up to a certain size, then, deadening or cutting down all the larger trees and burning the logs and the brush so that the plot would be ready for the plow. In addition he was to split rails to fence the forty acres into five eight-acre fields. For rails he saved the walnut and poplar logs because they were easy to split. All this he had to complete before he started clearing his own eighty acres. Finally, however, he completed his task, cleared five acres of land for himself, erected a barn and started building a house. Then with the house not yet quite completed, he married on May 7, 1835, Elizabeth Pletcher, the daughter of Samuel Pletcher, the Crawford County Mennonite pioneer.[25] Surely if Jacob served for Rachel, Peter Imhoff slaved

[25] See "Extinct Ohio Mennonite Churches, IV The Richland-Crawford Congregation," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review;* XVIII (October, 1944), 239.

for Elizabeth Pletcher! The house that Peter Imhoff built during the thirties was still standing in 1926.[26]

In the course of years Peter cleared his land, was ordained to the ministry and finally to the office of bishop. He established an enviable reputation for honesty and industry. A contemporary said of him that Peter Imhoff lived imbedded in the memory of three generations in the proverbial, "As honest as old Uncle Peter." Plain and outspoken, he was the friend of all, but never hesitated to express his convictions. On one occasion he was riding with an attorney, J. W. Frey. After a period of silence Uncle Peter asked, "Wesley, do you know what I am thinking?" "What?" asked the attorney. "If everyone thought as I do, we should have no use for such chaps as you," came the deliberate reply.

He was a firm believer in, and upholder of, the old Mennonite traditions and practices. When the question of Sunday School, revival meetings, and English preaching arose in the Indiana and Ohio conferences during the seventies and eighties, Imhoff stood firmly with Abraham Rohrer and Jacob Wisler for the old forms and discipline Church services began about nine o'clock with the singing of several hymns to the old slow tunes brought from Germany and Switzerland and sung from memory without notes. Then followed a long exhortation, built largely around the theme of the follies and dangers of the world and the decline of obedience and loyalty to the Church, and closing with a call to prayer. Then came a long period of silent prayer and the reading of a chapter from the New Testament. The sermon, following, was based on a second chapter on which the minister commented for approximately an hour as he read. At the end of about three hours the services closed with the reading of a long prayer from the prayer book and several stanzas from a hymn.

[26] This is the family record of the Bishop Peter Imhoff family. Peter Imhoff, b. July 4, 1806, d. August 26, 1893, married May 17, 1835, to Elizabeth Pletcher, born December 20, 1813, died December 30, 1886.

Children: 1. Anna, b. July 31, 1836, d. February 10, 1913, married Joshua Begley.
2. Jacob, b. December 1, 1837, d. March 2, 1879.
3. Elizabeth, b. April 29, 1839, d. October 8, 1888.
4. Mary (or Magdalena), b. October 24, 1840, d. June 7, 1922, married John W. Lehman.
5. John, b. July 4, 1842, d. June 27, 1917, married (1) Mary Martin, (2) Emeline Landis.
6. Peter, b. August 6, 1844, d. June 13, 1911, married (1) Susanna Fike, (2) Leah Burkey. (Peter Imhoff was an ordained Mennonite preacher in the Chester Township, Wayne County, Ohio, old order congregation.)
7. Henry, b. April 21, 1846, d. February 2, 1918, married Susanna Burk. (These were the parents of Rufus Imhoff, of rural route number 2, Wooster, Ohio.)
8. Samuel, b. December 30, 1847, died at age of six weeks.
9. Catharine, b. March 4, 1852, d. April 29, 1929, married Peter Henry Gable.
10. Christian, b. September 13, 1853, d. May 29, 1942.

But in spite of his excellent moral qualities Bishop Peter Imhoff lacked the qualities of an inspiring leader. The membership declined until the few remaining members no longer met in the meeting house but at the house of the bishop. Then after the death of the bishop's wife in 1886, his youngest son Christian (unmarried) made a home for him in Wayne County. His daughter, Mary or Magdalena, the widow of John W. Lehman, kept house for them.

Bishop Peter Imhoff died on August 26, 1893, at the age of eighty-seven years and was buried in the Eight Square Cemetery adjacent to the Old Order Mennonite meetinghouse where church services are still being conducted almost exactly as they were in Switzerland at the time Peter Imhoff emigrated to America. The congregation is now very small numbering less than twenty members. A few years ago one of their ministers left the congregation to unite with the more progressive wing of the Old Order Mennonite congregation which meets on alternate Sundays. Bishop Peter Imhoff's grandson, Rufus Imhoff, and his family are members of the more conservative group. Rufus Imhoff's daughter is married to Elam Weaver of the Yellow Creek Old Order Mennonite congregation in Elkhart County, Indiana. The Rufus Imhoff family still practices the old-fashioned, open-handed hospitality brought to America by their Swiss ancestors.[27]

The Imhoff Cemetery remains to mark the early residence of some of the Imhoffs in Ashland County. On November 28, 1857, John and Catherine Imhoof *(sic!)* sold to the trustees of the Imhoff Burying Ground: Moses Gipe, Peter Bally and Samuel Bally, a small plot to be used as a cemetery and also a right of way to the public highway. As was the case with many of the earlier burying grounds this seems to have been a private plot, and now in order to insure its perpetuation and its accessibility to the public a trusteeship was established. On September 25, 1882, the trustees were Henry Zehner, Peter Bally, and Moses Gipe. On that date the trustees acquired an additional strip sixteen feet wide along the Olivesburg road.

The Paradise Cemetery Association was formed on June 7, 1897, being duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Ohio, "to provide a burial ground, to sell lots, etc., utilizing for such purposes a plot of ground formerly known as the Imhoff Cemetery." The signers of the articles of incorporation were I. B. Gable, C.

27 The writer is greatly indebted to Mrs. Rufus Imhoff for the privilege of using some manuscripts and historical documents preserved by the family. She and her husband also donated some German devotional books to the Mennonite Historical Library, probably used by Bishop Peter Imhoff.

Gebhart, John Gongwer, William Christian, A. Lepker, Cyrus Fike, D. Motter, and J. E. Gongwer.

Another minister of the Ashland County Mennonite congregation in the early years was the young Swiss immigrant, John Nusbaum, first cousin of Peter Imhoff. Unfortunately the date and circumstances of his arrival in America have not been preserved. He and his brother Peter seem to have emigrated at the same time and both came to Ashland County before 1830. A tradition in the Imhoff family dates the arrival of the Nusbaum brothers in Ashland before 1826 when Peter Imhoff made his first trip to that county. A Nusbaum family tradition records that John Nusbaum was ordained a minister of the gospel for the Ashland County congregation by Bishop Nold, of Columbiana County, Ohio, while he was still single and certainly before 1831. His obituary printed in the *Herald of Truth*[28] at his death in Clinton Township, Elkhart County, Indiana, on April 7, 1876, places the date of his birth in January, 1801, and the date of his arrival in America about 1819.

Apparently about 1831 he married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the large family of Jacob and Barbara Pletcher,[29] one of the Crawford County Pletcher families.[30] As already mentioned, he purchased land in Crawford County and may have lived there for a short time. He had been ordained before Preacher John Risser arrived in Ashland (Richland) County in 1832 and was still living there in 1840.

Preacher John Nusbaum's first wife, Elizabeth, died in 1847. In 1849 he married her sister, Mary, the youngest member of the Pletcher family.[31] In 1869 during an epidemic of typhoid fever in

[28] Vol. XIII (May, 1876), p. 94.

[29] Both Jacob and Barbara Pletcher died in Elkhart County, Indiana, in October, 1870, he on October 13, aged eighty, she on October 26, aged nearly seventy-three. They were the parents of seventeen children. At the time of their death there were one hundred grandchildren and thirty-three great-grandchildren. Jacob Wisler and Daniel Brenneman conducted the funeral service for the wife and J[ohn] Nusbaum, Eli Mishler, S[amuel] Yoder, and D[aniel] Brenneman for Jacob Pletcher.

[30] John and Elizabeth (Pletcher) Nusbaum were the parents of six sons: Jacob, John (ordained deacon in the Mennonite Church), Christian, Samuel, David, and Henry; and two daughters: Elizabeth, married Jacob Weaver, a preacher at the Shore and Clinton Brick churches; and Katrina, married to a Hoover.

[31] John and Mary (Pletcher) Nusbaum were the parents of three sons and four daughters: Joseph, William, Daniel, Barbara (married Henry Risser, Jr., earlier of Wood County, Ohio), Ann Haines, Susan Balyard (still living in 1943), and Dellie, wife of Walker Miller formerly a member of the Lutheran Church, who preached for a congregation of "Stuckey Mennonites," in Iowa, and later for the Eighth Street Mennonite Congregation in Goshen. Daniel Nusbaum married a daughter of Bishop Henry Miller of the Shore Congregation but died before he was twenty-one. Several years after Daniel's death his widow, Mrs. Charity Nusbaum, married the widower, Deacon John Nusbaum, Jr., the half-brother of her deceased husband. Elizabeth, the first wife of Deacon John Nusbaum was a daughter of Preacher Joseph Freed, of Richland County. Mary (Pletcher) Nusbaum was a sister of Preacher William Pletcher, later a resident of Elkhart County.

Clinton Township, Elkhart County, Indiana, she died just two days after her son Daniel succumbed to the same disease. She was the grandmother, and Daniel the father, of Preacher Amos Nusbaum, one of the present ministers of the Clinton Brick Mennonite Church.

The exact date of the removal of Preacher John Nusbaum to Elkhart County is not available, but it may have been after the death of his brother Peter in 1853. He was conservative in his views and rather quiet in manner, and he clung tenaciously to the traditional principles and practices of the Mennonite Church.

Peter Nusbaum, born April 15, 1802, seems to have come to America with his brother, John. He married his brother's first wife's younger sister, Barbara, lived in Milton Township south of Paradise Hill, died December 30, 1853, at the early age of fifty-one years, eight months and fifteen days, and was buried on his own farm.[32] For some reason his widow never left Ashland County but moved away from her husband's Imhoff relatives to a farm in the northern part of Vermillion Township. Not wishing to be buried on the Paradise Hill farm, she had her husband's body exhumed and reinterred in the Pleasant Ridge Cemetery. Here she, too, was laid to rest beside her husband and an infant daughter. Her daughter Barbara married Abraham M. Boyer, the last surviving member of the congregation.

Ashland County furnished a home for another family of Nusbaum immigrants. According to tradition Christian and Catharine (Wise) Nusbaum were natives of Germany. Christian Nusbaum is said to have been a brother of John and Peter. (John named his third son Christian.) Christian and Catharine (Wise) Nusbaum moved to Elkhart County, Indiana, in April, 1848.[33]

[32] Peter Nusbaum may have contemplated moving farther west. On April 6, 1842, he purchased two forty-acre tracts in Perry Township, Wood County, Ohio, for $400.00 from John and Elizabeth Pletcher, of Wood County, but he never moved. After his death his executor, Henry Rutt, sold both tracts for $600 on October 30, 1854, to Henry Risser, of Wood County.

[33] Christian Nusbaum, died February 8, 1881, aged 81-6-3. His wife Catharine (Wise) died August 24, 1883, aged 81-6-3. They are buried in the Olive Cemetery south of Elkhart.

Following are a number of the second generation Nusbaums who moved to Elkhart County, Indiana.

Deacon Daniel Freed, born in Richland County, a son of Preacher Joseph and Hannah (Snyder) Freed, of Richland County, married Anna, a daughter of Peter and Barbara Nusbaum in Ashland County. Daniel brought his family to Olive Township and literally hewed a farm out of the primeval forest.

Peter Nusbaum, probably the son of Peter and Barbara (Pletcher) Nusbaum, was born in Ashland County, August 10, 1827, married a Margaret Moyer, and moved to Elkhart County in 1849. He united with the Mennonite Church at an early age.

Anna, a daughter of Christian and Catharine (Wise) Nusbaum also moved to Elkhart County. She married Joseph Holdeman, of Wayne and Ashland Counties, on September 24, 1846. And in October 1850 they left Ashland, settling in Olive

Several members of the Mennonite Church in Mifflin Township are buried in Ohl's Cemetery on the south side of U.S. Route 42 about two and a half miles west of Ashland.[34] Here a native Pennsylvanian, the father of a certain Stephen Ohl, purchased a farm in 1831. Stephen Ohl married Mary Schwartz in 1834.

Another of the later ministers at the Brubaker Mennonite Meetinghouse near Five Points was John Hartman (1807-1882). He was born in Wurtemberg, Germany, the second son of Peter (1772-1834) and Anna (Lengen) Hartman (1776-1831). Hence he was a brother of Henry Hartman who is buried in the Whisler Cemetery at Five Points. He came to Milton Township before 1835 where in that year he married Anna Maria Bauer who was born in 1809 and probably was living in Milton Township at the time of their marriage.[35] Most of the Hartmans lived farther north in Orange and Clear Creek Townships and John Hartman for some years lived east of Nankin.

It is not known definitely when he left Milton Township but some of the older residents remember hearing him preach at Pleasant Ridge. And Wes. Reed stated a few years ago that Preacher Hartman was living "not far from here (the southwestern corner of Montgomery Township)" when his house burned. The house and nearly all the contents were destroyed by fire on May 11, 1869. He was ordained to the ministry about 1845 and was much in demand as a preacher at funerals during the sixties and seventies when it was

Township when it was merely a wilderness of timber. He taught school for eighteen years and was deeply interested in church work.

C. W. Nusbaum, born November 11, 1836, in Ashland County, the son of Christian and Catharine (Wise) Nusbaum, came to Elkhart County with his parents in April, 1848, and on February 18, 1858, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Anna Bechtel. He was a member of the Evangelical Church.

David B. Nusbaum, son of Preacher John Nusbaum, was born in Ashland County in 1842 and moved to Elkhart County, Indiana, in 1860. He married Harriet Greiner, daughter of Philip Greiner. He was a Mennonite and for many years a school teacher.

Joseph Brubaker, a native of Pennsylvania (and possibly a grandson of Benjamin Brubacher, Sr.), and his wife Elizabeth (Nusbaum) Brubaker (1824—1905) a daughter of Peter Nusbaum, of Ashland County, were married in 1842 and moved to Elkhart County, Indiana, in 1849. She united with the Mennonite Church about 1855. Their son, J. H. Brubaker was born in Elkhart County on May 22, 1854.

[34] Burials of those who probably were Mennonites include: Elizabeth, wife of Jacob Hoover, d., June 15, 1856, aged 23-1-13; Jacob Ziegler, d., February 19, 1858, aged 75; Jacob Smeltzer, d., July 28, 1873, aged 27-1-16 (Funeral service by John Hartman in German and ——— Steiner in English); Emma May Smeltzer, born May 16, 1869, died March 26, 1892.

[35] A certain John Hartman, apparently Preacher John Hartman, purchased a number of small tracts of land in widely separated locations between the years 1833 and 1839: 1833—thirty-one acres one mile east of Nankin and about four and one-half miles northeast of Ashland; 1836—about twelve acres one mile south of Olivesburg; 1839—about 29 acres two miles northwest of Crestline; 1839—70 acres about four miles southwest of Haysville; 1839—27 acres in what is now the village of Nankin. If all these were purchased by the same John Hartman, it is evident that some of them were bought as an investment or were accepted in payment of debt.

customary to have two sermons—one in German and one in English. He, being a native of Germany, was frequently called upon to conduct the German portion of the service.

When John Hartman's first wife died in 1859, he seems to have been living on his farm at Nankin. He buried his wife in the Patterson Cemetery one mile east of Savannah and a little over six miles north of Ashland.[36] He married in 1863, as his second wife, Sarah Lehman, who survived him. When he died in 1881, she buried him beside his first wife but erected a square white marble tombstone. A few years ago the postmistress at Savannah, a member of one of the later Hartman families, confided to the writer with a knowing smile, "She didn't like things so plain!" The inscription on the tombstone records that John Hartman was born March 27, 1807, "In Hartabhoff Rheinkreis Bayern Europe" and died October 6, 1881. The inscription includes the stanza

"For thirty [?] six long and weary years
He stood on Zion's walls
And urged by voice, act [?] and life
The gospel's gracious call."

Funeral services were conducted by Reverend A. Dickey in English and Peter Troxel in German, the latter a Wisler Mennonite preacher in western Wayne County. That Bishop Peter Imhoff, who was living near Paradise Hill at the time of John Hartman's death, was not invited to preach the funeral sermon, may have some significance as pointing out that Hartman had not followed Imhoff and Abraham Rohrer in the Wisler Schism.

The obituary of John Hartman's daughter Katie, printed in the *Herald of Truth* in 1893 (page 38) states that she was born in Milton Township, Ashland County, fifty-four years ago (1838) (this indicates that Hartman was living in Milton Township on this date), that she was a member of the Mennonite Church and that two brothers and a sister survive. The date of her death was December 5, 1892, and she was buried from her brother Levi's residence in Savannah. Levi Hartman's wife was Sarah Fast. His brother, Jacob, married Soluthia Stough. Preacher John Hartman's eldest daughter, Mary (1837-1873), married Christian P. Nusbaum and moved to Elkhart County, Indiana. John F. Funk and Daniel Brenneman conducted her funeral service in 1873.[37]

[36] The inscription on the plain white marble slab marking her grave reads: Hier ruhet im Herrn / Anna Maria Bauer / Weib von / Johannes Hartman / Starb / December 9, 1858 / Alter / 49 Jahr und 9 Tag.

[37] *Herald of Truth,* X (February, 1873), 47. After 1872 very few death notices of members of the Wisler schism in Ohio were sent to John F. Funk for publication in

At least one sister (Agnes, born in Germany on May 3, 1814, died near Washington, Tazewell County, Illinois, June 23, 1889) of Preacher John Hartman and his older brother, Henry, already mentioned, came to America. She united with the Mennonite Church in Germany at an early age and was the wife of Peter Hartman who is said to have died in 1851. Agnes (Hartman) Hartman was the mother of the Mennonite bishop, E. M. Hartman, of Illinois.

It is possible that Peter Hartman (born in 1800), the brother of Henry, John and Agnes, also came to America and is the same Peter Hartman who died in Allen County, Ohio, on September 22, 1871, at the age of seventy-one of "rheumatism in the chest," leaving a wife and three children. He was a member of the Mennonite Church and was buried at the Riley Creek meetinghouse (near Bluffton), funeral services being conducted by Christian Culp, Abraham Steiner and Christian P. Steiner.

In addition to the descendants of Peter and Anna (Lengen) Hartman, another German Hartman family figures in Ashland County Mennonite history.[38] In 1832 Samuel Hartman (mentioned above) with his wife and children, five sons and three daughters, crossed the Atlantic in company with several other Mennonite families who settled in Ashland (Richland) County in that year. Samuel Hartman, however, had not been able to pay the passage for himself and his large family. Jacob Stauffer, Sr.,[39] a wealthy Mennonite miller in Lancaster County, as already mentioned, had advanced the money to pay the transportation charges on condition that Hartman and his sons would work for him until the amount was repaid. In 1838 Hartman and most of his family moved to Orange Township, in the vicinity of Nankin, where he bought a small tract of land. In 1848 he and his sons yielded to the lure of cheap land in Elkhart County, Indiana. Samuel Hartman purchased eighty acres of timbered land four miles west of New Paris where his first home was a log house. He died in 1873 at the age of eighty-nine. His funeral service, being in charge of Jacob Wisler, Christian Bare and

the *Herald of Truth*. The inclusion of such notices in the Herald is usually good evidence of membership in the progressive group led by John F. Funk.

[38] This research has brought to light land purchases by several Hartmans who do not seem to belong to any of the families mentioned in this article: 1832 James M. Hartman, 160 acres seven miles south of Five Points; 1837 Benjamin Hartman, two acres ten miles south of Five Points; 1837 David Hartman, 160 acres from U. S., three miles east of Crestline; 1841 Christopher Hartman, four tracts ranging from ten to ninety acres and totaling 195 acres one mile northwest, one and one-half mile north of Crestline. All of these were within driving distance of the Richland or Crawford County Mennonite settlements.

[39] This may be the Jacob Stauffer who purchased land west of Galion in the Richland-Crawford Mennonite settlement and died there. His son Jacob moved to Elkhart County, Indiana.

John Nusbaum, indicates that he held his membership in the Old Order (or Wisler) Mennonite Church at Yellow Creek.

At least two of Samuel Hartman's sons, Valentine (1806-1882) and Adam (1811-1894) were members of the Mennonite Church and moved to Elkhart County. Valentine married, in November, 1836, Mary Smeltzer (1811-1887), probably the daughter of Michael and Susan (Rhodes) Smeltzer, early Lancaster County settlers in Milton Township. Valentine Hartman moved to Harrison Township, Elkhart County, with his family in 1850 in wagons drawn by ox teams, the surest mode of travel in the pioneer "roadless" days.

Adam married Elizabeth Ramer, daughter of Jacob and Catherine Ramer, natives of Lancaster County, who spent their last days in Ashland County, Ohio. He and his wife and four small children made the journey to Harrison Township in 1848. Both the Adam and Valentine Hartman families went through the usual process of turning a primeval forest into a productive farm, first constructing a log house to afford some shelter from the elements and then beginning the long laborious task of cutting down or deadening the trees, planting crops, and splitting rails to fence the tiny fields against the ravages of wild animals or the neighbors' roving live stock.

Adam Hartman united with the Mennonite Church in Germany at the age of sixteen. He and his wife, Elizabeth (Ramer) Hartman remained members of the Old Order (Wisler) Mennonite Church. When Elizabeth (Ramer) Hartman died in 1885 the funeral services at the Yellow Creek meeting house were conducted by Bishop Jacob Wisler, Martin Hoover, and Henry Shaum.[40] Adam Hartman was the grandfather of Reverend Frank Hartman, a student at the Elkhart Institute in 1900, and now a poet and an Evangelical minister.

The Vermillion Township Group (The Pleasant Ridge Congregation)

On April 18, 1816, the United States granted to Henry Baughman, of Trumbull County, Ohio, the northwest quarter of Section Seven in Township 21 North, Range 16 West (Vermillion Township). This was the quarter section where the Mennonites located a cemetery in the late twenties or early thirties and eventually erected a church.

[40] Catherine (Hartman) Bechtel, the mother of Deacon Jacob Bechtel, of the Old Order Mennonite Congregation at Yellow Creek, was born in Ashland County. Her husband came from Pennsylvania.

In 1832 Preacher Peter Beutler, a recent German Mennonite immigrant, purchased forty acres a half mile west and a half mile south of the future location of the Pleasant Ridge church. At that time, however, the only Mennonite meetinghouse in the settlement was near Five Points over four miles northwest of Beutler's purchase. The Beutlers came from the Sulzbach Church, Canton Winnweiler, Kaiserslautern, in the Bavarian Palatinate during the preceeding summer traveling by way of Havre, New York, Philadelphia, and Lancaster County. Beutler paid six hundred dollars for forty acres with a log house and a barn scarcely larger than a stable. Five acres were "cleared", that is, trees smaller than one foot in diameter had been removed, stump and all, and the larger ones had been deadened by girdling the tree, that is, by chopping off a ring of bark around it.

Peter Beutler seems to have had no difficutly in accommodating himself to the customs and religious practices of his Lancaster County Mennonite neighbors. John Nusbaum, a Kauffman (probably John), and a certain Kilmer were already ministers of the congregation when he arrived. Kilmer may have arrived in 1833 and it is possible that Kauffman was a deacon and that his name was Christian. They accepted Beutler at once as a minister in full fellowship and, when Bishop Jacob Nold, of Columbiana County, came to hold the fall communion, he and his family were accepted as members.

Accompanying Peter Beutler to America were his wife, Barbara (1795-1865), and several children, his brother, Jacob K. Beutler (1806-1892), and two unmarried sisters, Catharine (1812-1895) and Elizabeth Barbara (1816-1892). Another brother, John (1792-1841), had preceeded the others to America about 1830 and settled temporarily in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where he married Elizabeth Andrews. They also moved to Ashland County in 1833 and purchased the northwest quarter of Section Seven where the Pleasant Ridge Church later was located.

For some reason, probably to acquire larger land holdings, Jacob K. Beutler moved to Indiana, in 1846.[41] But it seems that soon afterward he moved to Mahaska County, Iowa, near Leighton,

[41] To Jacob K. Beutler we owe a brief description of the Mennonite Church in Elkhart County in 1846. He states (*Herald of Truth*, Vol. II (1865), p. 21) that the church then numbered fourteen members and that they had a minister, the aged Martin Huber, who was no longer able to fulfill the duties of his office very efficiently. He goes on to say that in the fall Jacob Mishler and Brother Hoffert came on a visit and the following spring the former and with him Brother Jacob Christophel and several other members of the Mennonite Church took up their residence in Elkhart County.

south of Oskaloosa, where he attempted to found a Mennonite colony. In 1851 Preacher Peter Beutler also left Ashland County, settled in Mahaska County and died there. In spite of an earnest effort the colony never prospered. Bishop Jost Bally, who was then living near Roanoke, Illinois, visited the colony in 1864, 1865, and 1866, to hold preaching services at the homes of a number of members and to conduct baptismal and communion services. In 1864 Peter T. Beutler was the minister and Jacob K. Beitler deacon. After Preacher Peter Beutler's death, a man past his sixtieth year was chosen by lot and ordained to the ministry. In 1867 Bishop John M. Brenneman on one of his extended ministerial itineraries visited the colony and on Sunday, June 9, ordained Deacon Jacob K. Beutler to the ministry. A certain Peter O. Beutler and a Henry Beitler, son of Preacher Peter Beutler, also took considerable interest in the congregation at that time. When Preacher Jacob K. Beutler died on November 23, 1892, at the age of nearly eighty-six the funeral services were held in the Reformed Church of Leighton, Iowa. Even before his death, however, one more brave effort to found a Mennonite congregation had resulted in failure, leaving another extinct church for some future Mennonite historian to record.[42]

As already mentioned, Preacher Peter Beutler's brother, John, moved to Ashland County in 1833 bringing with him his wife, the former Elizabeth Andrews whom he had married in Lancaster County.[43] On a high point at the northeastern corner of this farm

[42] For a rather complete account of the Beutlers (also Beitlers or Butlers) of Mahaska County see Melvin Gingerich, Chapter XII, "Mennonites in Mahaska County," in *The Mennonites in Iowa* (The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939), pp. 138-45. Barbara, the widow of Preacher Peter Beutler, died in Elkhart County, Indiana, on June 29, 1865, and was buried in the old Yellow Creek Cemetery. She had come to Indiana with her brother-in-law, Jacob K. Beutler, to visit friends.

[43] John and Elizabeth Beutler were the parents of nine children of whom one son and five daughters lived to maturity. Mary, the eldest, was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, on September 12, 1831, and moved to Ashland County with her parents in 1833. In 1864 she moved to Elkhart County with her widowed mother and her brother, Jacob A. Beutler. And in 1877 she became the second wife of Bishop Daniel Brundage, of Newton, Harvey County, Kansas. She died near Wakarusa, Indiana, November 12, 1896.

The other daughters of John and Elizabeth Beutler were Elizabeth (1835—1892), never married; Barbara, married Adam Martin; Martha, wife of James Reed, and mother of the late Wes. Reed, of rural route one, Ashland, Ohio. (She died in 1905 near Mansfield, Ohio. Services by Rev. Murphy, of the Kreider Memorial U. B. Church. Interment in the Windsor Cemetery near Mansfield.) Catharine married Samuel Rohrer and lived in Missouri, then later in Pawnee, Kansas. Anna, the youngest, (1841—1914), married Adam Kornhaus and lived in Wayne County where her husband served as bishop of the Martin's Mennonite Church southeast of Orrville. He was born April 30, 1843, in Richland (Ashland) County. His parents moved to Wayne County when he was a year old. He married Anna Beutler, November 2, 1865, was ordained minister November 19, 1887, bishop, September, 1892, and died in the pulpit, November 26, 1893.

he set aside a plot for a burial ground for his neighbors and friends, and near the northeastern corner of this plot the congregation at an early date built a meetinghouse. The writer could not learn the exact date of the building. But at the untimely age of forty-eight years, ten months, and four days, John Beutler died on May 8, 1841. The gravestone erected by his wife was a rather ornate sandstone slab bearing the date and place of his birth—July 4, 1792, in the Bavarian Palatinate—with the inscription, "Zum Andenken gewidmet von der Gattin" (dedicated to his memory by his wife). A few years ago when the slab developed a fault and threatened to disintegrate, Beutler's grandson, the late Wes. Reed, replaced it with a small neat granite marker.[44]

After the death of John Beutler in 1841, his widow and their only son, Jacob A., continued to operate the eighty acre farm until 1863. On September 15, 1863, the widow employed a surveyor to fix the bounds of the cemetery and church plot. Then on September 18, 1863, she sold the farm to Christian Vesper, also a German immigrant. Since the cemetery, church grounds and meetinghouse had never been transferred to the Mennonite Church, she deeded eighty-six and one-half rods of land to the "trustees of the Mennonite Church in Vermillion Township."

The next spring (1864) the widow, Elizabeth (Andrews) Beutler, with her son, Jacob A., and her two single daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, moved to the vicinity of Wakarusa, Indiana. She died there on June 9, 1873, at the age of nearly seventy-two and was buried in the Olive Cemetery. Her sister-in-law, Catharine (Beutler) Moyer, is buried in the old Yellow Creek Cemetery. Nearby is the grave of another sister-in-law, the widow of Preacher Peter Beutler, of Mahaska County, Iowa.

Jacob A., the son of John and Elizabeth (Andrews) Beutler, married Caroline Boyer who died on June 2, 1874, at the early age of thirty-six leaving an infant son three months old who died a month later. Beutler had been ordained to the ministry on Thursday, July 19, 1868, at the Holdeman Mennonite Church near Wakarusa, by Bishop Henry Yother, of Streator, Illinois. On October 14, 1872, Beutler and John M. Christophel were ordained to the office of bishop to take the place of Jacob Wisler who left the church during the period of difficulty in 1870-71. At Beutler's death on Novem-

[44] Wes. Reed, the son of James and Martha (Beutler) Reed, gave the writer valuable assistance on the occasion of his first visit to Ashland County. Reed insisted that the writer must eat dinner with him and then spent the entire afternoon driving to the different cemeteries, arranging interviews, and visiting points of interest to the Mennonite historian. Between that date and the writer's next visit the eighty year old man had passed on and a fine generous spirit had entered the Beyond.

ber 3, 1886, at the age of nearly fifty-three, John F. Funk wrote of him as a "staunch defender of the principles of the faith as practiced by the Mennonite Church."[45] Funk continued, "It was his one desire to see a faithful man chosen to fill his place before he should be called away, which was done at the recent conference." Barely three weeks before Bishop Beutler's death Jonas Loucks was ordained to the ministry and Henry Shaum to the office of bishop on October 12, 1886, at the the Holdeman Church.

As stated above, the ministers in Ashland County in the early thirties in addition to Peter Beutler, were John Nusbaum, a Kauffman, and a Kilmer. According to Hill (p. 96), who, however, as previously stated, relied chiefly on tradition for early dates, Isaac Kilmer already was living in Vermillion Township, Richland (now Ashland) County, in 1825. So were William and Jacob Reed and David Sherrick. Their neighbors, with Mennonite names, on the west across the line in Mifflin Township, were Isaac Abey (Eby), Henry, John, and David Brubaker, Peter Baum, Joseph and John Charles, John Gongwer, Benjamin Hershey, Martin Kagy, Daniel and John Kauffman, John Landis and Jacob Stehman. A number of these early settlers are buried in the cemetery on John Beutler's farm (Pleasant Ridge), others, as already stated, in the Pleasant Grove Cemetery in Mifflin Township.

Isaac Kilmer, as mentioned in an earlier article,[46] moved to Ashland County from Juniata County, Pennsylvania, where he and his brother John were residing at least as early as 1810. In 1833 he purchased 236 acres in the western and southwestern part of Section Six in Vermillion Township, hence in the extreme north-

[45] At the death of Bishop Jacob A. Beutler he was survived by his second wife, the former Mary Ressler, by a son and three daughters by his first marriage: William Henry (d. 1892, aged 29), Anna Rebecca (Mrs. Daniel Horst), Sarah Elizabeth (Mrs. Benjamin Herner), and Martha Salome (Mrs. Enos Davidhizer); and by one daughter and two sons by the second marriage, Magdalene (Mrs. Simon C. Hartzler), Levi and John. Two children by the first marriage preceded him in death: Mary Alice (d. March 11, 1883, aged 14) and Jacob Andrew, the infant son who died soon after his mother's death.

Mary Ressler, the eldest sister of an orphaned family, had helped to rear the younger children of her family including the late Bishop J. A. Ressler. In her early twenties after the death of the young man, Christian K. Nissley, to whom she had promised to give herself in marriage, she resolved to remain single. But she finally yielded to Bishop Beutler's earnest entreaty as he presented the need of his growing family for the third time she accepted, as a divine call, the responsibility of helping to rear a family of orphans. She also took a leading position in the work of the church, but always was very quiet and modest in her activites. After the coming of the Sunday school she taught a class so long as she was physically able.

The family of each of Bishop Jacob A. Beutler's daughters has been represented in the student body of Goshen College: Dorcas Horst, Sarah Davidhizer, Edwin Herner, M.A.; and Alice Hartzler. His daughter, Magdalene, was a student at the Elkhart Institute. The latter's granddaughter, Eunice Hartman, is now a sophomore in Goshen College.

[46] See "Church in Crawford and Richland Counties," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XVIII (October, 1944), 241-2.

western part of the township and bordering on Mifflin Township on the west. His land lay one half mile north of the farm purchased by Preacher Peter Beutler in November, 1832, and joined John Beutler's 1833 purchase on the north. Hence it lay due north across the road from the Pleasant Ridge Cemetery

As stated in the earlier article mentioned above, Isaac Kilmer seems to have been ordained bishop by Bishop Jacob Nold, between 1833 and 1840. If so, the congregation was left without a bishop when Kilmer moved to Crawford County, west of Galion. All but one of the seven Kilmer burials in the Pleasant Ridge cemetery between 1835 and 1845 were of infants between the ages of four months and of five years. A Margaret Kilmer, aged twenty-one, died April 2, 1838. The only other Kilmer burials were those of John Kilmer, who died in 1845, and his wife, Magdalena, who died March 5, 1848, aged sixty-eight. John was the brother of Isaac Kilmer.

When Isaac Kilmer moved to Crawford County all of his sons, except Isaac, moved to the same settlement. Isaac Kilmer, Sr., died there at the age of fifty-seven. Eventually all of his sons moved to Elkhart County, Indiana: Philip from Crawford County in 1853; John from Ashland to Crawford to Williams County, Ohio, and then to Elkhart County in 1874; Isaac from Ashland County in 1852; and Samuel from Crawford County, in 1852.[47]

In the absence of all records of church organization and church membership in most Mennonite congregations during the early nineteenth century, the church historian must depend chiefly on family tradition, the hastily compiled county histories, records of land purchases, printed obituaries, and the inscriptions on grave

[47] Following is a partial list of land purchases in Vermillion Township, Ashland County, by the Kilmers.
1833 Isaac Kilmer from William Williams Southwest Quarter of Section Six.
1837 John Kilmer from Isaac Kilmer eleven acres in the same quarter section.
1837 Philip Kilmer from Isaac Kilmer eighty acres in the same quarter section.
1840 Isaac Kilmer from Philip Kilmer eighty acres in the same quarter section.
1844 John Kilmer a quarter section across the border in Richland County.
1847 John Kilmer, an adjoining quarter section in the same section.
1848 Philip Kilmer, fourteen acres for $300. in Section Seven Vermillion Township from Friedrich Boettcher and Susan Betcher (*sic*).
Isaac Kilmer purchased a total of 236 acres in Section Six. Something appears to have occurred to impair the title to this property. Over a period of years various residents of Ashland County, Ohio, and of Elkhart County, Indiana, signed quit claim deeds to portions of this land. The deeds usually refer to "part of the quarter section deeded to Isaac Kilmer, May 6, 1833." A partial list of the signers is as follows: June 14, 1861, Samuel Kilmer and wife, Catharine, and Samuel Holdeman and wife, Sarah, all of Elkhart County, Indiana; June 6, 1863, Jacob Beutler and wife, Caroline; same date, Peter Zehner and wife, Hannah (Boyer) Zehner; April 14, 1863, Jonathan Lechlitner and wife, Elizabeth, of Elkhart County; September 18, 1863, Christian Vesper and wife, Susannah, of Ashland County; March 21, 1866, Jacob Landis and wife, Deborah, of Elkhart County. These instruments were executed in favor of A. M. Boyer, of Ashland County.

markers, to assist in compiling a membership roll. But the Pleasant Ridge congregation in Vermillion Township certainly included enough family names to build a large and flourishing congregation if provided with adequate leadership.[48]

It seems likely, however, that after the earlier years all of the Brubakers had died, united with the Brethren in Christ, or moved away. The same was true of the Eby, Bechtel, Ziegler, Smeltzer, Hershey, Landis, Kauffman, Hoover, Harnley, and Roland families. Preacher John Nusbaum buried his first wife, Elizabeth (Pletcher) in 1846, and after his remarriage and the death of his brother Peter (1853), moved to Elkhart County, Indiana. As already noted, the last of the Kilmer families left Ashland County in 1852. John, Henry, and Christian Eichelbarger moved to Wood County in 1842, or a little later. Some of the Risser families, at least Henry and Christian Risser, moved to the same county. Christian Risser, a shoe maker in Ashland, was living there in 1845, but had moved to Wood County in 1848.[49] Henry Risser came to Ashland County from Germany in 1845, moved to Wood County in 1849, and later to Elkhart County, Indiana. The Hoover and Weaver families, at least those who remained members of the Mennonite Church, had either died or moved westward before the Civil War. Michael and Elizabeth (Kilmer) Weaver, whose son M. K., was born in Ashland County June 13, 1847, moved to Olive Township, Elkhart County, Indiana, in 1853. The last of the Beutler family moved to Elkhart County in 1864. At that time Preacher Peter Beutler and his brother Jacob were already living in Mahaska County, Iowa.

Not all of the early settlers moved west. Some of the less venturesome returned to the safety and security of the earlier settlements farther east. As early as 1844 the parents of Adam Kornhaus (1843-1893) moved from Ashland County to the Martins congregation, southeast of Orrville, Wayne County, Ohio, where Kornhaus was ordained minister in 1887 and bishop in 1892. The father of Adam Kornhaus was Henry (1816-1883).

The reasons for moving away from Ashland County are no longer clear. Dissatisfaction with the land could scarcely have been a major reason. The entire area formerly occupied by the Mennonites, south, west, and northwest of Ashland is a rich farming community. Health conditions were more satisfactory than in the northwestern Ohio counties which were a veritable breeding ground for

[48] Preacher Jacob Oberholtzer, of Columbiana County, Ohio, died in Ashland County. He was the father of twenty-one children.

[49] See "History of Extinct Wood County Mennonite Church," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XVIII (April, 1944), 98-100.

malaria and typhoid, and even cholera. The question of "progressive" and conservative, or old order, did not become a vital issue until after 1870. It is true, to be sure, that the families who moved to Elkhart County from Ashland County during the forties and fifties were on opposite sides of the controversy when these issues split the church in 1870-72. The lure of cheap land probably was a major cause of the westward trek. In the late forties and early fifties, the glowing reports of the rapidly growing Mennonite settlement in Elkhart County, built up from many congregations in Ohio and Pennsylvania, had a powerful attraction for those who were on the westward move in search of both economic advantage and a settled, satisfactory religious and social environment for their children.

By 1870 when the Sunday School controversy finally furnished the tangible expression of a progressive spirit which had been threatening to divide the American Mennonite Church into "Old Order" and a new order which sought to adapt the preaching and teaching service of the church to new needs, very few families maintained an active interest in the Pleasant Ridge Mennonite Church.

Probably among the remaining faithful members were the widow of Peter Nusbaum (Barbara Pletcher 1810-1891); Peter Weaver (1800-1882); John D. Landis (1818-1896) and his wife Mary (1822-1888); Jacob Smith (Schmitt) (1802-1873); Jacob Smith (1799-1873); possibly Rebecca, wife of Samuel Roland (1786-1874); Mary (1794-1882), wife of James C. Reed; possibly David M. Witmer (1824-1876), formerly of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; Sarah (Moyer) (1800-1886), widow of George Boyer and the mother of Catherine (Mrs. Samuel Kilmer), and of Abraham M[oyer] Boyer.[50]

It is evident, therefore, that the closing years of the Pleasant Ridge congregation scarcely can be called a struggle for existence. It was merely a period of waiting until the aging members should be laid to rest in the cemetery with the companions and friends of their youth. The last surviving member, Abraham M. Boyer,[51] was not willing to give up, however, without a final effort.

When it had become evident that the church was declining

[50] Sarah Moyer was born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, about 1800 and moved to Northumberland County about 1804 with her parents. In 1817 they moved to Butler County, Pennsylvania, where in 1818 she married George Boyer, of Butler County. In 1839 they moved to Ashland County where in 1849 she united with the Mennonite Church at Pleasant Ridge. Her husband died in 1871. They were the parents of fifteen children. By the time of her death in 1886 there were 116 grandchildren, 127 great-grandchildren and three great-great-grandchildren.

[51] Abraham M[oyer] Boyer, the son of George and Sarah (Moyer) Boyer, was born in Butler County, Pennsylvania, on June 23, 1830, moved to Ashland County, Ohio, with his parents in 1839, and on March 20, 1851, married Barbara, the daughter of Peter Nusbaum. He and his wife united with the Mennonite Church. He died in 1915.

beyond hope of recovery, he and his wife had moved to Elkhart County. In fact, they twice had tried to make Elkhart County their residence, but each time his wife became so dissatisfied and homesick that they were forced to return to Ashland County.

Then he set himself to the task of trying to revive the congregation. He invited Mennonite ministers into the community to hold services, and even succeeded in having both Mennonites and non-Mennonites build a new meetinghouse at Pleasant Ridge. But the effort to revive the work failed. The meeting house which he had helped to build fell into disuse so that at his death in 1915, it was no longer fit to hold services and he was buried from the home of his daughter Alice, Mrs. W. P. Yeater, where he last resided. Interment was made in the Mennonite cemetery.

As already indicated, the story of the final years of the congregation is the record of a pathetic attempt to rebuild the ruins in competition with the Brethren in Christ Church on the west and the growing interest of the young people in the Lutheran Church a mile farther east. The former built the new Chestnut Grove meeting house a few miles to the northwest in 1874, and the Lutherans organized a Sunday School at the brick Mennonite meeting house built in 1847 one mile east of Pleasant Ridge. Preacher John Hartman, who lived miles away to the northwest and who suffered severe financial reverses when his house and all its contents burned in 1869, still drove to Pleasant Ridge to conduct services every two weeks. But being a native German, he always conducted services in that language just as Peter Imhoff did. There is evidence that John Hartman tried to introduce some measure of pietistic warmth into the formal Mennonite service. But he was already sixty-three years old when the 1870 division occurred, and it is by no means certain that all of the old people in the group mentioned above were sympathetic with the more progressive wing.[52] Preacher John Hartman died in October, 1881.

Even before 1881 some of the other Mennonite ministers attempted to lend the expiring congregation some aid. In March, 1881, J. J. Weaver, of LaGrange County, Indiana, visited Ashland County Mennonite families. That summer Abraham M. Boyer appealed to Mennonite ministers through the columns of the *Herald of Truth* to visit Pleasant Ridge. He complained that they had had preaching services only "once this summer" and "once last winter." J. J. Weaver, from Indiana, had preached for them in March,

[52] Preacher John Hartman conducted the German portion of many funeral services. Examples of such occasions were: John Hursh, d. June 22, 1865, aged 58; Jacob Smeltzer, d. July 28, 1873, aged 27; Samuel Bally, d. August 6, 1873, aged 37.

and Martin Leatherman, minister of the "Funk" group in Medina County, Ohio, during the summer.

Meanwhile the old meetinghouse which John Beutler had helped to erect had fallen into a bad state of repair and was scarcely fit to hold services. Community pride and the wish to have a respectable building on the cemetery grounds to hold funeral services led to the erection of a new meeting house in 1882. The first meeting in the new building was held on July 2, of that year. The house was filled to capacity at that first meeting, as reported by C. C. Beery, of Medina, Ohio, who was among those present.

During the next few years the Ohio Mennonite conference held services at Pleasant Ridge at irregular intervals. Evangelist John S. Coffman seems to have held a few meetings here during the years 1883-1886 as he did in the Crawford-Richland Mennonite settlement. Late in 1885, however, A. M. Boyer again writes to the *Herald of Truth:* "We have had services here only once this summer." In September, 1890 (September 13 and 14), Samuel Yoder, of Elkhart, Indiana, held meetings at the Pleasant Ridge meeting house. For the next few years Ohio Conference reports contain the simple statement that the "Ashland County Church is very small." After Menno Steiner was ordained minister in 1893, he severely rebuked conference evangelists for neglecting the small dying congregations and especially for failure to report true conditions in the declining congregations so that the church should be aroused to give them help.

But so far as Pleasant Ridge was concerned the time of revival had passed. In 1924, the building was once more in need of repair and in order to dispose of it while the materials still had value, the trustees sold the building. The buyer razed the meeting house and used the lumber to construct another building.

As already stated, Elizabeth Beutler, before moving to Indiana, had transferred the cemetery plot to the trustees of the Mennonite Church. It appears that through the years this trusteeship was allowed to lapse. During the nineties (1896, 1897, etc.) the widow and heirs of Christian Vesper (Junior?) to whom Elizabeth Beutler had sold her farm in 1863, transferred the original plot plus a strip eight feet wide on the south side "to the Trustees of Vermillion, Mifflin, Montgomery and Milton Townships." The cemetery is kept mowed, but when the grave stones become loose and fall over the caretaker seems to remove them to the fence so that they do not interfere with mowing. Between 1943 when the writer last visited the cemetery, and the date of his first visit a few years earlier, some of the stones have disappeared. In 1943, for instance, the stone

marking the grave of John Kilmer (died 1845) was missing and it was not until the writer consulted the notes made on an earlier visit that he recalled that this was the place of Kilmer's burial. Little did those who laid him away one hundred years ago think that the first centennial of his death would find the marker missing.[53] Even the second generation descendants of the pioneers are now very few in Ashland County. Wes. Reed, eighty-year-old grandson of John Beutler, died a few years ago. Mrs. Allie Yeater, granddaughter of Peter Nusbaum, is well on in years.

53 Following is a partial list of some of the older burials in the Pleasant Ridge Cemetery. It may prove useful to those who are interested in following the westward movement of Pennsylvania emigrants. Some of the white marble markers are so badly weatherworn that it is practically impossible to be certain whether what appears to be a figure "one" may not be a "four" or whether a "four" may not be a"two". And, as stated above, some of the markers have disappeared entirely during the past few years. The church building stood in the northeast corner of the cemetery plot. At an early date, however, burials were made near both the north and east boundaries.

John Geier, d. 1858
Christian Harnley, d. August 8, 1846, aged 75-5-25.
Catharine, his wife d. 1855
Frederick Krebill, d. May 3, 1849, 61-3-0.
Anna, his wife, d. July 17, 1857, 63-2-2
Samuel, their son, d. March 3, 1842, 22-4-8
Benjamin Hershey, d. July 28, 1829 (1849? or 1859?) 64-4-0
————, his wife, d. January 25, 1856, 56-1-10
Henry Roland, d. January 16, 1849, 64-2-1
Peter Baum (marker broken and illegible)
Mary, his wife, d. March 9, 1869, 66-8-9
Henry Baum, d. May 29, 1853, 31-7-4
Clarana, w. of George W. Reed, d. March 14, 1859, 28-10-10
Mary, w. of James C. Reed, d. October 13, 1882, 88-10-15
John Landis, d. September 7, 1842, 58-10-6
Nany **(sic.)**, his wife, d. May 1, 1872, 82-7-1
Henry Landis, d. October 14, 1879, 63-3-17
John D. Landis, b. April 16, 1818, d. 1896
Mary, his wife, b. October 18, 1822, d. January 21, 1888
Susan, wife of John Roland, d. May 13, 1864, 36-8-23
Elizabeth (Pletcher), wife of Preacher John Nusbaum, d. November 15, 1846, 39-3-1
Peter Nusbaum, d. December 30, 1853, 51-8-15
Barbara (Pletcher) his wife, d. November 30, 1891, a. 81-5-29
Jacob Roland, ————————?
Nancy, w. of Jacob Roland, d. August 12, 1844, 30-8-15
Rebecca, w. of Samuel Roland, d. February 19, 1874 (?), a. 28 (88?)-8-22 (?)
Children of P. and J. Kilmer: Thomas J., d. 1845, a. 2-2-16; William H., d. 1845, a. four mo.
John Kilmer, d. 1845
Magdalene, his wife, d. March 5, 1848, a. 68
Isaac, son of P[hilip] and C[atharine] Kilmer, d. 1840, a. 5 years (?)
Eliza, dau. of I[saac] and A[nna] Kilmer, d. July 18, 1840, aged four months
Margaret Kilmer (probably daughter of John and Magdalene Kilmer), d. April 2, 1838, a. 21-5-18
Eve, dau. of J[ohn] and C[atharine] Kilmer, d. May 5, 1835, a. 1-2-27
Isaac, son of same, d. August 7, 1838, a. four mo. six days
H. Weaver, d. July 24, 1861, a. 18-6-5
J. Weaver, d. August 4, 1861, a. 15-2-15
Peter Weaver, d. September 17, 1882, a. 82-6-29
Elizabeth, his wife, d. July 20, 1870, a. 60-5-17
Michael Weaver, d. 1855, age?
John Beutler, 1792-1841
John, son of J[ohn] and E[lizabeth] Beutler, d. May 28, 1838, a. 1-2-25
Ester **(sic.)** dau. of same, d. Dec. 9, 1844, a. 6-5-2
Christian Vesper, b. August 16, 1788, in Heichelheim, Rhein Pfalz, Bayern, d. December 24, 1849, a. 61-5-8
Anna Magdalene, his wife, b. in Asselheim Rhein Pfalz, Bayern, d. March 10, 1847
John Hoover, d. February 25, 1848, a. 71-10-29
Rosena, his wife, d. March 1, 1850, a. 68-7-29
John Hoover, Jr., d. June 7, 1857, age?
Samuel Kunckel, b. July 17, 1784 (?), d. October 8, 1862, a. 78-2-2
Elizabeth, his wife, d. July 24, 1867, a. 64-4-15
John Brubaker, d. October 12, 1868, a. 77-11-9
Catharine, his wife, d. August 13, 1876, a. 72-5-10
Polly, dau. of K[atrina (?), that is, Catharine] and J[ohn?] Brubaker, d. March 24, 1849, a. 3-3-11
John Brubaker, d. July 6, 1865, a. 30-5-26, member 18th O.V.I. Buried in Chattanooga Cemetery
Jacob Smith, d. January 10, 1873, a. 71-0-1
Several Schmitt **(sic)** infants, the children of Jacob and Elizabeth: son, d. 1847; Abraham, d. January 2, 1849; Peter, d. January 8, 1849; Christian, d. 1858, a. nine years. (Elizabeth Schmitt may have been a sister of Preacher John Risser.)
Esther, dau. of G[eorge?] and S[arah?] Boyer, d. February 28, 1843, a. one mo., fifteen d. Several other Boyers were buried here between 1860 and 1919.

Since the Pleasant Ridge cemetery was a community burying ground, burial here does not prove Mennonite membership. The Chestnut Grove Brethren in Christ cemetery on Peter Brubaker's farm was not opened until 1870. John and Catharine Brubaker, buried at Pleasant Ridge, may have been Brethren in Christ and John Brubaker may have been the Brethren in Christ minister.

On the other hand, some Mennonite families, who seem not to have left a record in any Mennonite Cemetery in Ashland County, lived in that county at some time during the history of the congregation. One such family was Baker (or Becker). Christiana Baker was born in Richland County on October 17, 1828, married John Pletcher in Crawford County on April 3, 1851, and in the same year moved to Elkhart County, Indiana, where she became the mother of ten children and died on February 28, 1899, aged 70-4-11.

Book Reviews

The History of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America, Vol. I. By H. P. KREHBIEL, Pastor the First Mennonite Church, Canton, Ohio. Published by the Author, 1898. Pp. 504.

The History of the General Conference of the Mennonites of North America, Vol. II. By H. P. KREHBIEL, Pastor Emeritus, the First Mennonite Church, Burrton, Kas. Published by the Author, 1938. Pp. 682.

Volume I of this history of the General Conference, though written nearly half a century ago, is still the only authentic history of the General Conference movement. It was written, fortunately, at a time, 1898, when Rev. Krehbiel, then a young preacher out of the Seminary at Oberlin, interested in the history of his church, still had access to the original testimony of many of the men who had taken an active part in the founding of this branch of the church, not much over a quarter of a century before. From his father, too, Christian Krehbiel, who had been a leader during these early years of many of the conference activities, he had an authentic source of information for many of his facts. The book therefore was written from authentic sources long since no longer available to the historian.

The story of the beginning of the unification movement in 1859 at West Point, Iowa, when three different small groups of Mennonites from three separate unification centers, Iowa, Canada, and Pennsylvania, met is adequately and interestingly told. Then follow among other later activities,the steady addition of new congregations at each succeeding triennial conference, the founding and later experiences of the Wadsworth school, the quest for a mission field among the Indians of Alaska, and final start of Indian mission work in Indian Territory, the publication interests, the aid given the Immigrants from Russia in the middle seventies, and later movements up to the fourteenth session of the Conference held at Alexanderwohl, Kansas in 1896, when sixty congregations were represented.

The book is illustrated with rare pictures and contains an appendix of brief biographical sketches of most of the early leaders of the General Conference movement. The work is still available, and should find a place in every Mennonite home not already in possession of a copy.

Volume II, written by Rev. Krehbiel just forty years later, continues the story from 1896 to 1938. The narrative is based largely on the triennial Conference reports, supplemented by such personal knowledge as the author gained from an almost continual attendance at the Conference sessions during all these years; for Rev. Krehbiel, as a minister, was always in close touch with the work of the church, especially active in the peace and colonization organizations. The book is divided into three sections—I. Expansion, 1896-1914; II. Tested by World War, 1914-1926; and III. Period of Growth and Service, 1926-1935.

Among the activities and movements of the Conference discussed within these divisions, in addition to the work of the regular permanent commissions such as Relief, Publications, Missions, Education, and Peace, were such occasional problems as Conduct and Doctrine, Prohibition, Secret Societies, Withdrawal from the Federal Council of Churches, Young People's Work, Aid to the Mennonite immigrants from Russia 1923-1930, etc. P. H. Richert, President of the Mission Board, writes an

introduction. These two volumes furnish a reliable and convenient source of information on the history of the General Conference by one who was both an eye witness of and a participant in the whole movement from nearly its earliest stages.

Bluffton College *C. Henry Smith*

Mennonite Colonization in Mexico: An Introduction. By J. WINFIELD FRETZ. Publication Number 2, Section for Mennonite Aid, Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pennsylvania, 1945. 43 pages. Map, illustrations, tables. 20 cents.

Whereas Publication Number 1 in the series sponsored by the Section for Mennonite Aid of the Mennonite Central Committee was concerned with factors that in general have made for success or failure in colonization, it was logical to follow this introductory study with a booklet on a particular colony. Publication Number 2 on *Mennonite Colonization in Mexico* serves this purpose.

This booklet was written by Dr. Fretz after he had paid the Mennonite colonies in Mexico a visit during the summer of 1944. Its purpose is primarily to acquaint Mennonites north of the Rio Grande with their brethren south of the Border and to offer suggestions on what we may learn from these southern neighbors.

The ten chapters of the booklet answer ten questions. Who are the Mennonites of Mexico? Why did they go to Mexico? Where did they settle in Mexico? What is their pattern of settlement? How do they earn their living? How are they governed? What is the nature of their church? What are some of their distinctive conditions and social customs? What do the Mexicans and Mennonites think of each other? And what is the future of the Mennonites in Mexico?

Ten thousand of the twelve thousand Mennonites of Mexico live in the State of Chihuahua, west of Laredo and south of El Paso, Texas. Others are scattered in smaller colonies between this point and Tampico. Over eleven thousand are Old Colony Mennonites, called that because theirs had been the oldest Mennonite colony in Russia before coming to Canada in the last quarter of the past century. Their customs and traditions are in many respects similar to those of the Old Order Amish Mennonites of the United States.

Many problems face these brethren in Mexico. For instance, they are surrounded by an unfamiliar Latin culture, much of their land needs to be irrigated, and their religious freedom is based on a special privilege and not on a national law. Some of the smaller settlements do not seem to have a promising future, but if economic and political conditions remain favorable the larger colonies can be expected to continue expanding.

Dr. Fretz suggests that "valuable lessons by way of Christian community organizations may be learned from the Mennonites of Mexico by the Mennonites of the United States and Canada. On the other hand, there are useful services which the Mennonites in these countries can render to their brethren in Mexico."

A map, several pictures, and three pages of tabulations add to the usefulness of the book. An additional detailed map of the colonies in the state of Chihuahua, such as the one available in the Bethel College Historical Library, would have enhanced the usefulness of the study.

Bethel College *Melvin Gingerich*

Mennonite Colonization: Lessons from the Past for the Future. By J. Winfield Fretz. Akron, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Central Committee. 1944. Pp. 80. 20 cents.

The Mennonites for centuries have been colonizers, establishing their colonies in many areas of Europe, Asia, and North and South America. Since 1870, especially, there have been large scale transplantings of these peoples. Now as they face the future, they realize that the war and its aftermath may again produce economic, political, and religious conditions that will call for new settlements.

The Mennonite Central Committee is especially concerned with the problem of future colonization because of its interest in the demobilization and rehabilitation of several thousand of its young men now in Civilian Public Service camps, at least fifty per cent of whom indicated an interest in receiving "financial credit and guidance from the church towards establishing modest homes or means of earning a livelihood."

Although the Mennonites have had unusual colonization experiences, no extended study had been made of these ventures, successful and unsuccessful. The M.C.C., therefore, employed J. Winfield Fretz, Professor of Economics at Bethel College, to visit Mennonite colonies, study their records, and to write his findings in a booklet for popular size.

Mennonite Colonization is the result of Dr. Fretz's research, although it does not profess to be an exhaustive scholarly work. In his first chapter he takes up the types and causes of Mennonite migrations. This is followed by a study of causes and types of colonization. The major portion of the book considers the factors that have contributed to successful and those that have contributed to unsuccessful colonization ventures. In the light of these findings, he offers suggestions for future colonization.

This study may well be a milestone in American Mennonite history. It is the first instance of the Mennonite branches uniting to engage a man full-time to do a piece of research for them and to publish his findings for the use of the rank and file of their constituencies. From the point of view of the purpose of the book, the author is to be commended for the clarity of his presentation and for the practical nature of the materials presented.

Bethel College *Melvin Gingerich.*